

THE ARENA

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B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



THE STORY OF TWO OLIGARCHIES

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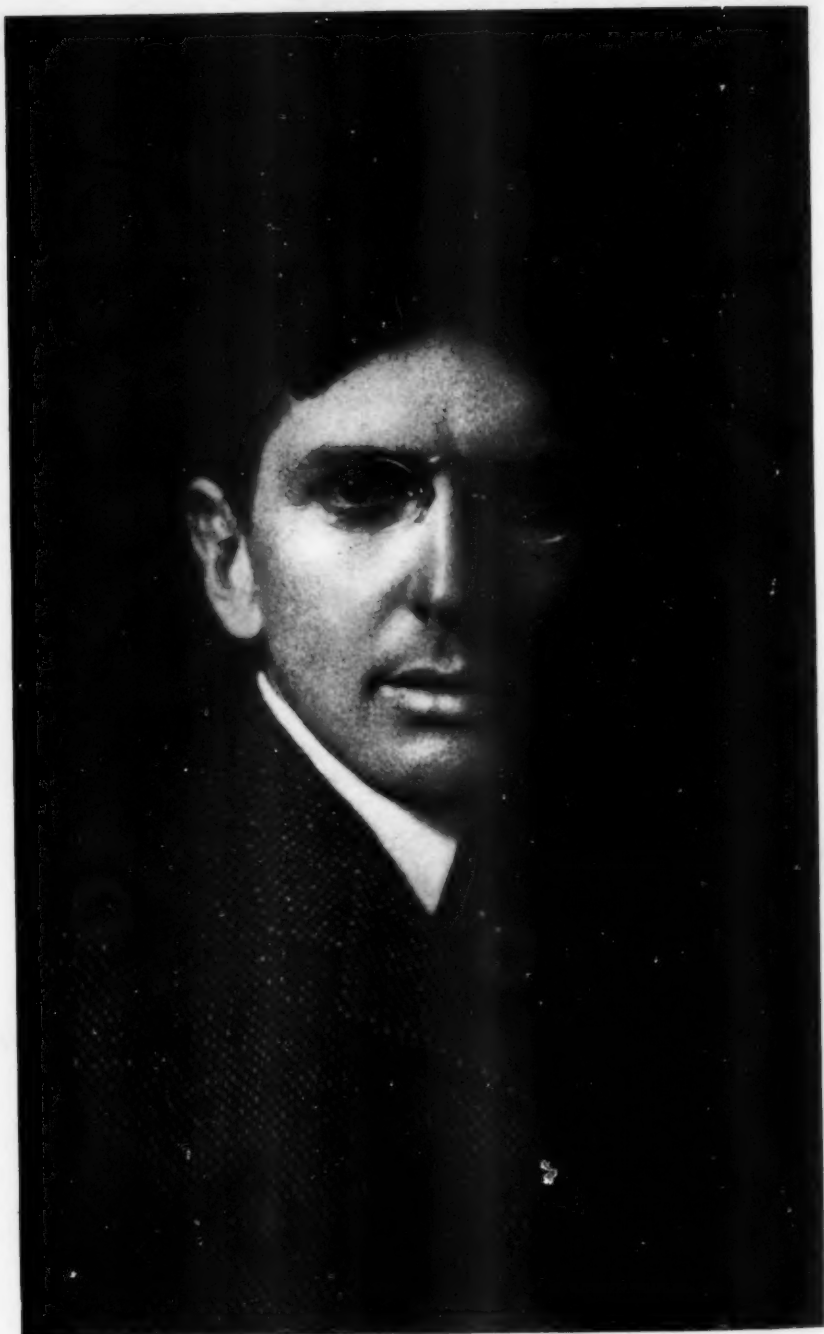


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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

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THE STORY OF TWO OLIGARCHIES.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK FROST ABBOTT, PH.D.

WHAT SUDDEN and radical changes time brings upon us! Only a few years ago a very clever book appeared establishing the fact that the Speaker of the lower house of Congress controlled the political policy of the nation. One could not dispute the conclusion. In the palmy days of Randall and Carlisle the House ruled at Washington and the Speaker ruled the House. The country waited to hear his choice of Chairman for the Committee of Ways and Means and for the Committee on Appropriations to know whether he and his advisers had decided to give the nation free trade or protection, to prescribe an economical or a liberal policy for the coming two years. His faithful supporters on the floor were rewarded with committee assignments which gave them prestige in the House and before the people. His open enemies, when such could be found, or the men whose hostility could be neglected, were shelved in the Committee on Weights and Measures.

How the House has fallen from its high estate and the Speaker with it! Who cares to-day whether it favors or opposes a judicial review of the decisions of the Inter-State Commerce Commis-

sion, the retention of the present rates on products from the Philippines or the reduction of them? The settlement of such matters now rests with its lord and master at the other end of the Capitol. The senators wink at one another, as did the Roman augurs, when even such a skilful leader and clever tactician as the present Speaker announces his intention to have the House treated as a coördinate legislative body. If the Senate is in a generous mood, by making some trifling concessions in the matter of form to the conferrees from the House, it may allow the Speaker to "save his face," as the Washington correspondents put it. This gracious course it took in the statehood dispute and won the gratitude of the House by its condescension, but concessions on points of serious moment a sovereign can hardly be expected to make. To the House the situation is a *fait accompli*. The measures which it sends up to the Senate, are like petitions to a ruler, to be received and enacted into laws with radical changes, if the Senate finds something of merit in them, or rejected altogether, or left unconsidered in committee. That the House accepts the situation seems to be clear from the loose form in which

it leaves important propositions, like the rate bill. Why spend time in perfecting a measure when the real business of legislation is carried on elsewhere? Why trouble oneself with consistency, completeness, or constitutionality, when another body will settle all these questions as seems best to it? And yet the House finds useful work to do under the new interpretation of the Constitution. The projects which are laid before it and the discussions which take place in it are published throughout the country, and the Senate has an opportunity to learn the trend and the strength of public sentiment before it takes up a matter for action. It is rarely obliged, therefore, to change its attitude on a question on account of an unexpectedly strong popular feeling against its course. Furthermore, since the House is carried along more easily than the Senate by the current of public opinion, and since it can take action quickly, inasmuch as it would be useless labor for it to take time to perfect its measures, the Senate rarely finds it necessary to initiate important legislation, but can wait until public opinion has been tested through the medium of the House. The late Speaker Reed is said to have thanked God that "the House was not a deliberative body." Were he living now he might express thankfulness or regret that it is not a legislative body.

This elimination of the House from the control of the government has narrowed down the struggle for supremacy to the Senate and the President, just as the death of Crassus in the waning years of the Roman Republic brought the other two members of the First Roman Triumvirate face to face, precipitated a conflict between them, and made the triumph of Cæsar or Pompey inevitable. This second stage in the Senate's struggle for supremacy is intensified by a variety of circumstances. The present occupant of the presidential chair holds positive views on public questions and insists upon them vigorously. Few political

or social abuses escape his eye, and a fair catalogue of the evils of the day, with remedies for them, might be drawn up from his messages and personal letters. This passion for reform is caviar to so conservative a body as the Senate. To make the matter worse the great majority which he received in the last presidential election made him in a peculiar sense the tribune of the people, and in his contest with the Senate he has believed that public opinion supported him. Then, too, as if in anticipation of the future, on the night of his election he announced that he would not accept a renomination, and thus made it known that the fear of arousing enmities which would prejudice his political future would not influence his action. It has been remarked also that no one of his predecessors took so active a part in the actual work of legislation as he has done. Whether this is true or not, probably no president has intervened in legislative matters in so public a way, as the present occupant of the White House. In fact, the element of publicity is one of the noteworthy features of the struggle, and draws tight the lines of battle between the parties to the contest. The President makes a legislative project his own cause, and his personal leadership in the fight for a rate bill, a pure food bill or a Santo Domingo bill, is recognized by both its friends and its enemies. It happens, too, that most of the issues which have arisen between the President and the Senate are issues upon which a deep interest is felt throughout the country. The lists are open; the trumpet has sounded, and the people are watching the outcome. Will the Senate unhorse this antagonist as it did its other rival, or will it be borne down by the fierceness of his charge? Are we gradually passing over to an oligarchical form of government, or to a democratic empire?

One is tempted to turn back in history to another great struggle between an ambitious oligarchy and a chief magis-

trate, to the struggle between the Roman senate and consul, to see if it will throw any light on the present situation. The comparison is tempting because the Roman oligarchy, like our own, had to face a legislative and an executive rival, and history gives us in some details the story of its contest with both of its competitors. The similar character of the two cases is the more striking because in its essence the Roman governmental system was not unlike our own, and because the relation of the three contending parties was nearly the same as it is with us. In their senate and popular assembly the Romans had practically a bicameral system. Within certain limits, bills, after approval by the senate, were laid before the assembly for adoption or rejection. The two branches of the legislature were independent of each other. One was popular in its character; the other was a body of picked men, farther removed from public opinion. The consul, like our president, was an elective officer, and not a minister whose term of office could be cut short by the one or the other legislative body. It would be interesting to compare the circumstances which gave the Roman senate its ascendancy over its legislative rival with the corresponding situation in this country, but the triumph of our own Senate over the House, whether permanent or temporary, is complete. Our interest lies in the battle which is on, not in the contest which is settled, so that we shall confine ourselves to a comparison in its broad outlines of the struggle between the Roman senate and consul and the one which we are witnessing to-day, between our own Senate and the President.

We have already observed in a general way that the constitutional relations between the oligarchy and the chief magistrate in the two cases are similar. This fact will be still more apparent if we compare the membership and functions of the ancient and modern body.

Roman senators did not inherit their

positions, nor were they appointed to them, but they received them by election. This common characteristic differentiates the Roman senate and our own Senate from most upper houses in ancient and modern times, but the choice of senators in Rome was not made directly by the people any more than it is with us. The great majority of our senators are experienced politicians, and have held their seats for many years. This was true of Roman senators also. Many of our senators are rich men; so were the Roman senators, and one of the two bodies could be called a rich man's club as properly as the other.

A still more characteristic point of resemblance lies in the existence of a strong *esprit de corps* in both bodies. Senatorial courtesy was as marked in Rome as it is in Washington, and made Senators stand as a unit against the administration when the claims of their order or their individual rights or privileges were involved. Perhaps this sentiment was even stronger in the Roman body than it is in our Upper House, for its members constituted a class recognized by law, a class with power to transmit some of its privileges to its descendants. In this connection two or three peculiarities in Roman parliamentary procedure are interesting. In its palmy days the senate kept no minutes, did not require a quorum, and did not have motions set down in writing. This is a strange state of affairs among a people so methodical as the Romans and so gifted with political genius as they were. It does not indicate a high state of political honor among them, for corruption and chicanery were rife in politics, but it is a striking testimony to the *esprit de corps* of the senate. Evidently these lax methods of doing business had come down from early times, and it had never been found necessary to revise them. A long experience with them had shown that no matter what party advantages or personal privileges were at stake a member would

observe the principles of senatorial courtesy and the traditions of the senate. When he elaborated his motion and set it down in written form after the adjournment of the senate he could be trusted not to change the essential character which he had given to it in his oral statement. This feeling of solidarity was strengthened in the Roman senate and is supported in our Upper House by a long and honorable tradition, and by noteworthy achievements for the state. The office of chief executive has no such traditional meaning. It is the individual consul Cicero who suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy, or the individual President Lincoln who issues the proclamation of emancipation, but it is the Roman senate or the United States Senate which, by its power to ratify treaties and confirm appointments, controlled foreign relations before the birth of a Cicero or a Lincoln and will control them after the brief term of a particular chief executive is ended. The cumulative effect of such a long line of achievements cannot be overestimated. Presidents may come and presidents may go, but the Senate goes on forever.

We have taken warning from Roman history in one respect. In our dread of Cæsarism, popular prejudice has limited the president's tenure of office to eight years, but we have not noticed the Roman senator's long term of office, and studied its effect on democratic government in Rome. Cicero and Catulus held their positions as senators for a quarter of a century, and their length of service was by no means exceptional. They became thoroughly familiar with the traditions of the senate, and were always watching to maintain and extend its dignity and influence. Their familiarity with precedents and with the transaction of business, even more than their ability, gave them a recognized leadership in the body to which they belonged. They had succeeded another group of experienced leaders, and would be followed by men like unto themselves. They

gave continuity to the policy of the Roman senate, just as the Allisons, Aldriches, and Morgans preserve inviolate the traditions of our Senate. There is no such element of continuity in the presidency any more than there was in the consulship. A chief executive with a limited term of office scarcely learns where his strength and weakness lie before he must give way to a successor. His attention is centered rather upon the carrying out of the promises which he has made to the electors, upon the preservation of party unity, or the furtherance of his chances for renomination, than upon the maintenance and extension of the dignity of the presidential office. The prestige of the position suffers, as did that of the consulship, in consequence of this difference of purpose which characterizes the two contending parties.

We have noticed briefly the similarity between the Roman senate and our own in the matter of membership and character. Let us look at the characteristic functions of the two bodies. One source of power which the Senate of the United States uses most effectively in coercing the president is its right to confirm appointments. Thanks to this privilege almost all our federal officials are chosen by senators, not by the President, and the Senate's political influence and its control of the administration is thereby tremendously strengthened. The Roman senate used the same weapon against the consul with like effect. Governorships abroad and other important appointive offices were given to men who were faithful to the senate, and those who opposed it suffered for their temerity. A recalcitrant consul of Cicero's day, for instance, lost the great prize of the governorship of Asia for his rashness in making some political speeches against a measure which the senate favored. Cæsar, too, who opposed the senate during his consulship, would have had a forest and a marsh for his province at the end of his term of office, if the senate had had its way. So clearly did Gaius

Gracchus, the great opponent of the senate, understand this fact, that he made a determined onslaught upon the senate's power to use the offices in rewarding its friends and maintaining its prestige.

At the meeting on January 1, when the legislative year opened, the presiding consul made a statement on the condition of the commonwealth, and laid before the senate the matters which he thought deserved its consideration, very much as our President does in his messages. The Roman senate well understood that nothing discredits an administration so completely as to thwart its policy by rejecting or shelving its proposals, or by adopting them in such a form that their author scarcely knows whether to accept the substitutes or not. In refusing at its late sessions to pass bills establishing a protectorate over Santo Domingo, regulating insurance, and reducing the tariff on Philippine goods, and in its treatment of the President's plan for the regulation of railway rates, the Senate was following a course which its prototype followed on many occasions. It makes little difference whether the motives which actuate a legislative body in such action are patriotic or selfish, the chief executive is chagrined, his failure is apparent to the country, and the importance of the law-making body is exalted at his expense.

We had occasion to speak a few moments ago, by way of illustration, of the control of foreign affairs by the Roman senate and our own. It is an interesting fact that Roman tradition, and that the Constitution of this country gave the popular branch of the legislature no share in the conduct of foreign affairs. So long as we followed our policy of isolation the Senate's right to accept or reject a treaty was of comparatively small importance, but now that we have become a world-power, have acquired colonies in remote parts, have assumed a quasi-protectorate over our neighbors to the south, and have even ventured

into the arena of European politics, this function of the Senate acquires an added importance, and the Senate is not unmindful of the new chance to increase its power which the change in national policy has thrown in its way. Its treatment of arbitration and reciprocity treaties has shown the President that it and not he controls our permanent relations with foreign countries. The President's power to negotiate treaties has gone the way of his power to appoint to office. It was so in Rome. The consul represented the nation in its dealings with foreign powers, but the senate easily reduced him to the position of an intermediary between itself and the representatives of the state concerned, and as Roman interests abroad increased the influence of the senate was correspondingly augmented, and at the expense of the chief executive.

The Senate of the United States is almost alone among great legislative bodies in not adopting *clôture*. The history of the last few years bears eloquent witness to the advantage under the bicameral system enjoyed by the body which allows unlimited debate over the coördinate assembly which limits discussion. Perhaps the downfall of the House may be traced more directly to its introduction of *clôture* than to any other one cause. A bare majority may push a bill through the House, but it may fail utterly in the Senate, as did the Force Bill, and the Ship Subsidy Bill, or it may be exasperatingly delayed or radically amended, unless it satisfies all the members in the Upper House. Consequently a bill, to become a law, must meet the wishes of the Senate rather than of the House. This parliamentary weapon can be used with equal effect against a chief magistrate, as the history of the Senate during the last few years abundantly shows. Strangely enough the Roman senate allowed its members the same privilege. On a certain occasion, the irrepressible Cato was filibustering against an agrarian measure which the presiding consul,

Cæsar, was very anxious to pass. Cæsar ordered the sergeant-at-arms to remove him. Cato was removed, but the entire senate followed him from the house, and no magistrate ever again attempted to limit debate.

Making use of the tactical advantages which we have outlined above, and our Senate has the same elements of strength, the Roman senate, as we know, reduced the chief magistrate to the position of its minister, and made itself undisputed master of the state. Tiberius Gracchus, to whom our own president has lately been compared, first ventured to question its supremacy, and the uprising against the senatorial oligarchy which he organized attained its success in the next century in the democratic empire of Julius Cæsar. Among the immediate causes which contributed to the downfall of the Roman senate, two stand out with special prominence, its class-prejudice and its inefficiency. It represented the wealth and the aristocracy of the times. It was strangely deaf to public sentiment. It opposed popular leaders like the Gracchi and Cæsar without justice or tact, and failed to notice that the tide was setting toward democracy. It was chauvinistic in its foreign policy, as our own Senate has shown itself in its treat-

ment of the arbitration treaties, for instance, and this attitude was not adapted to further the interests of the whole empire. Its second point of weakness, its inefficiency, showed itself, not so much in its failure to manage the government well, as in its failure to manage itself. One of its chief sources of strength in its struggle with its rivals became in the end a fatal source of weakness. In the last few years of the Republic a dozen instances are recorded in which a single member by "talking against time" prevented his colleagues from taking the action which they desired. It was in fact the obstructive tactics of Cato on the occasion mentioned above which drove Cæsar to put an end to the intolerable situation by ignoring the senate and by carrying his measures in the popular assembly in spite of senatorial opposition. This step broke the primacy of the senate, and it never regained its prestige. For the sake of completeness we have followed the story of the Roman senate to the end. It would be rash to predict a like outcome at some future day in the struggle between the Senate and the President, but the fable teaches us that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

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MODERN GERMANY—MAD?

BY GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK.

AN AMERICAN viewing the life literary of modern Germany cannot but pause in wonder and ask himself, What does it all mean? Are the people mad? Surely there are many things to warrant this conclusion. "Attraction at any price" seems to be the motto of many of their writers, "and if you can't be original, be, at least, indecent and bizarre."

Perhaps we can find a reason and an excuse for this. The seeming sameness of all German lyrics has often been remarked upon. The very language seems to sit up like a snake and bite at those who attempt to clothe the new thought in new form. The Chinese classics were written by one man; of the whole body of German lyric verse it might be remarked, not without a semblance of

truth, that it might have been written by Heine and two other fellows.

The difficulty of attaining stylistic distinction has driven men of real genius, like Arno Holz and Stefan George, and even Liliencron, to take refuge in mannerisms. And excessive mannerisms, in literature as in life, are bad manners. Stefan George and Holz, especially, are form-mad. They no longer possess form, but are possessed by it. And the tragedy of the situation is that their form is often bad form. Holz, for instance, discards meter, rhythm, rhyme, and often—reason. He builds up his poems upon (or rather around) an invisible *middle axis* in the form of pyramids, erect or inverted. His imagination has power and richness of color, he has flashes of thought, yet it is extremely improbable that these fantastic pyramidal structures are likely to be as enduring as their Egyptian prototypes. They are certainly not as impressive. Linguistic gymnastics are not poetry.

Stefan George, on the other hand, though adhering more closely to classic metrics, has taken it into his head to revolutionize the German language. He follows his model Rossetti even to the extent of Anglicizing his spelling. For he insists on beginning every noun with a small letter, and only occasionally, as his fancy suggests, capitalizes an adjective. A book on his literary tendencies, published some years ago, bore the inscription, cribbed from the *Intentions*: "A truth in art is that whose contrary is also true"—a statement which looks to me more like an enigma than an epigram, though Oscar Wilde, when he wrote it, probably attached some meaning to it. I have heard it said that Stefan George presides in gorgeous costumes, in some Vienna café, over a circle of admirers whose duty it is to sit at his feet and worship. However that may be, he is a conscientious artist, a magnificent craftsman in words. I imagine that he would be quite capable, like Mr. Wilde, of working a whole forenoon to

take one comma out of a poem, and the whole afternoon to put it back.

These men are comparatively reserved; but a school of poetesses has arisen which combines with complete mastery of form an equally complete abandonment of morals. First and foremost in this school is undoubtedly "Marie Madeline," whose genius is surpassed only by her depravity. At sixteen she wrote *Auf Kypros*, a book of wonderfully melodious verse, not incomparable, in part to *Poems and Ballads, First Series*. Blended with these elements of poetic power were indications of the *demi-vierge* behind the book, who was soon to develop into the jaded woman of the world. Her second book falls far below the level of the first, and for this falling off she tries to make up by a superabundance of bad taste. Of her earlier verse she speaks in this second and mostly frivolous book as "the lyric emanations of puberty." After the vogue which her work attained and the greediness with which young Germany devoured its morbid elements, a horde of imitators sprang up like mushrooms. Of these "Dolorosa" surpasses all in morbidity and in talent. A proper discussion of much of her subject-matter falls into the domain of psychopathics, with the novels of Sacher-Masoch and de Sade.

But the writers treated of in this article are by no means the maddest. A short digression from reality may bring out even more clearly what things are possible in modern Germany. Some years ago I wrote a hoax article on a young German poet whom I chose to call Sylvio Dœrman, and whom I pretended to have visited in an insane asylum in New York. I cited one long poem supposedly written by this wretched creature, and treating of the passion entertained by a female corpse for a living man. I printed an interview from which it appeared that the young poet used to be in love with a mummy, and was at present enamored of a skull.

The result was a host of letters, one of them from the literary editor of a leading Berlin newspaper, who asked me for more information about this unfortunate, since he (the editor) was writing a book about mad geniuses. Another inquirer wanted to know whether Doerman was identical with a young Viennese whose name is somewhat similarly spelled, and who is at present a prominent figure in the realm of German letters, not the inmate of a private sanitarium.

We heard some time ago that George Bernard Shaw, better known as G. B. S., and Oscar Wilde, were the only British authors who had succeeded in making themselves heard in the literary mad-house of modern Germany. Nor is this to be wondered at. For whatever we may think of the startling genius of these two men, they hardly represent the sanest elements in English literature. It may surprise us that Swinburne is comparatively unknown. The first selection from his poetry, skilfully done into German by Otto Hauser, appeared only the other day. The reason is that Swinburne, the great, mad Swinburne of "Dolores" and "Faustine" ceased writing nearly fifteen years before the beginning of the modern German movement. And the Swinburne known to youngest Germany was the poet whose characteristics Mr. George Moore summed up wittily by saying of him that he "became respectable, moved to Putney Hill, and sang of his Mother, the Sea."

Some time ago some one sent me the catalogue of a great modern German publishing house. The booklet contained the pictures and autobiographies of a number of authors. It is quite the thing to write about oneself nowadays. But then one should be either dignified or witty. But let us hear the autobiography of Gustav Wied, advertised as the German Mark Twain. (On his soul may our Lord have Clemency!)

"I was born quickly and with ease, March, 1858. Confirmed, '73. Book-

seller. Flunked on Exam., '80. Flunked again, '81. Hooted, '90. Served a term in jail, '91. Married '96. Begot children, built house, and shall finally die, beloved and mourned, April 12, 1927."

Perhaps Mr. Wied mistook the profession of the clown for that of the humorist.

But what shall we say of the mysticism of Else Lasker-Schueler, whom (so competent German critics assure us) "one cannot rightfully overlook in speaking of the modern lyric"? The Lady has chosen to cast her autobiography into a symbolic fish-story, or rather the story of a fish. I translate literally:

"Surrendered my human form in fire-perilous hour for the scaly, cool form of a tench, and floated on in dill. But was enamored of several carps, especially one in changeant-blue, who, however, trod on my love with fins. Yes, then I began to poetize wave—storm—flood, roaring songs. And as several she-pikes went under, I was cast up from the depths of the water upon the surface where I was caught in a net. *Styx* is the name I gave my book out of gratitude to my arch-uncle Charon from whom I inherited some of my wisdom. Otherwise I am poor and torn like a lacinated bag-pipe without sound."

No one seems to object to this sort of thing. And after such revelations it does not surprise us to find some strange self-accounts in Hans Ostwald's *Songs from the Gutter*, an anthology which contains some admirable pieces and some that are execrable. Margaret Beutler, one of the most gifted poetesses of modern Germany, declares in her autobiography that she is temperamentally incapable of entering into permanent marital relations. And the late Peter Hille, who would have been something of a Villon had he been more of a poet, explains to us that, since he was a Westphalian, he was a "shameless liar, godless, and

without conscience." But who in the world, except the representative of some matrimonial agency, wants to know whether Margarete Beutler desires permanent conjugal bliss? And Herr Hille's veracity in his private life is a matter of interest only to his friends. But the exhibition of one's private affairs for advertising purposes seems to know no limit. Only a month or two ago, Mr. Roda-Roda, a distinctly minor light, startled the German public by announcing his "free marriage" to a certain baroness, because he regarded the present legal institution of marriage as immoral. He would probably have been made the hero of the day, had it not been discovered in time that, for any number of years, he had been quite conventionally married to the lady in question!

These men and women, though they show a deplorable lack of delicacy, still keep this side of sheer vulgarity. As much cannot be said for Franz Wedekind and his disciple, Erich Muehsam. It is matter for no slight amusement, by the way, that Wedekind's last play, "Hidalla," is so bewildering that even some of the knowing Berlin critics have confessed their incapacity to understand it. I have not seen the play, and judging from Wedekind's contributions to this anthology as well as from other work of his that has come under my notice, have no desire to read it. For, in *Brigitte B.*, he relates, without verbal music or any attempt at artistic effect, but with a cynical leer and dialectic affectation, the corruption of a young servant-girl. The poem is supposedly humorous!

If Wedekind repels, Muehsam nauseates. His "Amanda" surpasses in sheer nastiness anything I have ever seen. With the same sort of humor as his master, he describes how a young mother kills her illegitimate child by throwing it into a place not usually thought a fit subject for poetry, and then commits suicide. Especially touching is the stanza in which he relates how, at a touch on the button, the little toe of the child

disappears, last of all, in the domestic whirlpool. Herr Muehsam would probably say that this poem contains the bitterest of social satire. But surely there is something rotten in a society that tolerates this sort of thing and applauds it. And it must be remembered that these men are not isolated phenomena. They represent a school of poetry and find their way into the best magazines.

To detect literary currents one must read current literature; above all, the comic press. There beats the pulse of the nation. Tell me what amuses you, and I will tell you what you are. The first paper to be mentioned here is *Simplicissimus*, which in a way, has long ago supplanted the more harmless *Fliegende Blätter*. Its caricatures are grotesque and often obscene, but among its brilliant contributors are men who stand at the helm of the ship of German letters. Bureaucracy, Militarism, the Catholic Church and Philistine morality, are the targets against which its shafts are directed. Thus it has become, so to speak, a very center of disintegration, and the *Simplicissimus-Stimmung*, or disgust at everything, has become a very genuine factor in forming the temper of the nation. How far this paper dares to go appears from the fact that recently it published some jokes on a subject, the discussion of which was confined until then to medical treatises such as those by Kraft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis, but which has been brought to notice all over Germany by debates in the Reichstag and by the propaganda of the *Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres-Committee* of Berlin.

Slightly more conservative and no less widely read is the *Jugend*. It, too, prints jokes which would strike the average American as decidedly vulgar, but perhaps it is unfair in us to pass judgment, as the atmosphere in which we live is so entirely different. The illustrations in the *Jugend* are secessionistic in style. They are often of high artistic value and

have given rise to the *Jugend-Styl*. These papers, it may be added, despite of occasional lapses into vulgarity, stand for liberal and progressive habits and points of view, and are, therefore, salutary in their total influence.

But side by side with these exists a host of scandalous sheets of which *Das Kleine Witzblatt* and *Satyr* are perhaps the most malodorous. Pornography may have its place in human life, but it should not be hawked about the streets for five or ten *pfennige* to every child that runs to read. Some of the jokes there printed and illustrated are such as club-men at a stag-party would not tell even with subdued breath. And the worst is that there is nothing sprightly in these papers. The stories are told, not with the smile of the subtle *raconteur*, but with the broad grin of coarseness, and to their immorality they add the greater sin of dullness.

At what conclusions must we arrive? Is modern Germany really mad? Elements of madness certainly exist, and they involve a greater part of the people than they have ever before done. But here is a ray of hope. Even if they reach one million, or two, or three, or four, or five,—these millions are not the German nation. And if we consider the sales of books, figures louder even than the reckless advertisement of the moderns

tell us that the books whose circulations went into the hundred thousands are works of a saner character, almost old-fashioned, such as *Gatz-Kraft*, *Jörn Uhl*, and *Die Buddenbrucks*. And after all, in modern Germany at its maddest, there are traces of illuminating thought and vital human pathos. Much of its sin is due to misdirected energy that can find no political outlet. And so, too, much in the actions of Kaiser Wilhelm that may strike us as uncalled for interference in matters of art, is due to the desire of his healthy nature to place a check upon things unwholesome and unclean.

All Germany is in a process of fermentation. And the process is a violent one. It perturbs the land to its very depths and brings its literary genius to the verge of ruin. Perhaps this fermenting mass may become a rank poison which, like a pestilence, will infect the whole nation, and all nations in turn. Perhaps—and this I firmly hope and believe—it will be converted into foaming wine that shall be the delight of us all. But a great war or some great crisis may be needed to work the miracle of this transformation, even as the monks were wont to add some sharp ingredient to the must, so as to stir their vintage and to make it sweet.

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PLANT CONSCIOUSNESS.

BY ARTHUR SMITH.

THE MODERN student of plant-life no longer regards the object of his study as so many things which merely demand classification and arrangement, and whose history is exhausted when a couple of Latin or Greek names have been appended to each specimen. On the contrary, the botanist of

to-day seeks to unravel the mysteries of plant-life. For him the plant is no longer an inanimate being, but stands revealed as an organism exhibiting animal functions, many of which are certainly as well-defined as are analogous traits in the existence of the animal. Plant physiology has therefore become

a distinct branch of natural science, and every biologist who has followed it, feels the difficulty which confronts him in attempting to draw a line of demarcation between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. This difficulty is clearly shown by the fact that there are certain organisms that are claimed by both zoölogists and botanists as belonging to their respective departments of natural science.

Every living body, both plant and animal, consists in its embryonic form of a single cell, and not only this, but the lowest plants and the lowest animals are, in their full-grown, mature state, merely minute single cells. From this comparatively neutral starting point, in the sense of presenting the minimum amount of differentiation, one important feature, generally stated to be evolved only by the members of the animal kingdom, is the specialization of structure that enables animals to feed on organic matter taken into the body in a solid form. But this, as I shall show, is not confined to animals only. A second supposed mark of distinction is the possession by animals of a nervous system which has culminated in the higher groups of animals in the development, not only of special senses, but of sense-organs. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that many of the lower groups of organisms universally classed as animals, are entirely destitute of every structural trace of sense-organs or nervous system.

Although no trace of nerve-tissue has been found in any member of the vegetable kingdom, yet examples of the possession of a nervous system, sensibility, and consciousness, are to be found in it. Many plants manifest distinct movements which are responsible to external agencies; these movements agreeing in important and essential points with similar movements shown under similar circumstances in connection with animals, and which in the latter are the outcome of nervous excitement or brain-power.

Some will naturally exclaim: "How

can plants be possessed of brain-power if they have neither brains nor nerve-tissue"? And yet amongst those who have devoted any time to the observation of plant-life, few, if any, will deny the existence not only of instinct, but of a power much higher, and which runs very closely to that faculty of reasoning which no one disputes is found among at least the higher groups of animals. A few words on the mechanism connected with animal consciousness may at this point not be out of place.

Including the genus *homo*, each individual of the higher genera is, in a greater or lesser degree, the owner of a mass of gray and white matter generally contained in the head, known as the brain. This brain is the seat of all its energy, movement and sensibility. It is divided into centers, each of which is an area for the conscious perception of the different forms of sensory impressions, and also for the transmission of energy to the various muscles. Ferrier, Horsley, and others, have mapped out the brain into motor areas and centers. The term center involves the following mechanism: A sensitive surface; a nerve going to a nerve-cell or group of nerve-cells from which passes a nerve-fiber to a muscle. These nerve-cells discharge impulses to, and receive impressions from, the nerve-fibers. Each center has nothing to do with transmitting to, or receiving impulses from, any other part of the body than that to which it is connected.

For example, it has been proved that the nerve called the pneumogastric is the sensory to the muscles of the heart, lungs and stomach, and for these only; similarly the olfactory nerve is entirely devoted to the sense of smell, the optic nerve is the nerve of sight, and so on every portion of the brain has been proved by experiment to have exclusive functions. So the brain may be looked upon as a motor or engine which keeps the wonderful machinery going that produces all the various complicated movements of the animal frame. But all

motors must, in the first instance, be under the control of some power. In the mechanical world we have the powers of steam, water, and electricity. What then is the power at the bottom of the movement, etc., of organized beings? Its existence and effects cannot be doubted. It permeates not only the animal but also the vegetable kingdom, and may be described in a word as *brain-power*. It must be quite evident that the brain itself is not the source of this power, but merely acts, I repeat, as an intermediate motor. This motor is absent in plants, but does it follow that the power or force is itself non-existent? It is entirely absent in some members of the animal kingdom, but in these cases it is admitted that the power is present. For instance, none of the creatures known as *Protozoa* have any signs of specialized nerves or brains and the same remark applies to the next highly organized sub-kingdom, *Cœlenterata*.

But it is not disputed that these lowly animals have a certain amount of consciousness or even that they can develop that accumulated experience of theirs we call instinct.

It is perhaps sometimes difficult to actually define whether a given action is instinctive or intelligent. A great authority tells us that instinct is only "blind habit or automatically carried out action." This being so, then instinctive actions only move in one direction and cannot adapt themselves to circumstance. Again it has been defined as "reflex action into which there is imported an element of consciousness." But where one finds variation in action according to varying circumstances, a state of things which is seen over and over again throughout the plant-world, there seems ample grounds for believing that plants are capable of intelligent action and are endowed with consciousness to perceive and feel the variation in their environment, and so are able to vary their actions accordingly.

The commonly adopted opinion that

plants cannot be classed among conscious agents has never been proved, although perhaps to most people it may seem self-evident. Wordsworth did not think so, for he said:

"It is my faith that every flower which blows,
Enjoys the air it breathes."

But those acquainted even superficially with the habits of plants, will scarcely deny that they have the power of adapting themselves to circumstances and have many movements that are the very reverse of automatic, which point to the idea that they are endowed with a power something higher than mere instinct. Numerous instances will occur to their minds of sensibility as fully developed in the plant as in the animal, and which in the latter is without doubt the outcome of conscious perception and thought brought into action through the medium of the brain.

Take, for instance, that wonderful plant, the *Mimosa*, sensitive not only to the most delicate touch, but like most other genera, to the approach of darkness or to even a shadow thrown upon it, of which the poet says:

"Weak with nice sense, the chaste mimosa stands,
From each rude touch withdraws her timid hands;
Often as light clouds o'erpass the summer glade,
Alarmed she trembles at the moving shade,
And feels alive through all her tender form,
The whispered murmurs of the gathering storm,
Shuts her sweet eyelids to the approaching night,
And hails with freshened charms the rising light."

Many species of *mimosa* possess this property, and indeed most of the genus in a greater or lesser degree. They have their leaves beautifully divided, again and again pinnate, with a great number of small leaflets of which the pairs close upwards when touched. On repeated touching, the leaflets of the neighboring pinnae also close together, and the fact that when the touch is given to one of the pinnae the movement is conveyed to the others until at last the entire leaf sinks down and hangs as if withered, points to the power of transmitting impulse; after a short time the leaf-stalk

risers and the leaf expands again. It is noteworthy that a touch on the upper side of the leaf has no effect. This appears to be an analogous trait to that which is found in many insects, and in fact all parts of the animal kingdom of feigning death at anyone's approach or when slightly touched.

The mimosa, too, goes to sleep when night comes on, or even a cloud passing over the sun will cause its leaves to fold up and sink down, in fact the whole plant appears to go to sleep. In going to sleep, the mimosa is not, however, at all singular, as most species of plants close their leaves and flowers at night. On the other hand there are some which, like the beasts of the forest, hail the setting sun as a signal for activity. This sleep of plants, which without doubt is physiologically the same as animal sleep, does not exist without a reason. The act of sleeping is, in the higher animals, symptomatic of repose in the brain and nervous system, and the fact of plants sleeping is one proof of the existence of a nervous system in the members of the vegetable kingdom. Plants sleep at various hours and not always at night. Light and heat appear to have, in many instances, little to do with plants sleeping, as different species go to sleep at different hours of the day. Thus, the common Morning Glory, *Convolvulus purpureus*, opens at dawn; the Star of Bethlehem, *Ornithogalum umbellatum*, about ten o'clock; the Goat's-beard, *Tragopogon pratensis*, opens at sunrise and closes at mid-day, and for this reason is also known as "Go-to-bed-at-noon." The flowers of the Evening Primrose, *Oenothera Biennis*, open at sun-set, and those of the night-flowering Cereus, *Cereus grandiflorus*, when it is dark. Aquatic flowers open and close with the greatest regularity. The white Water Lily closes its flowers at sunset and sinks below the water for the night; in the morning the petals again expand and float on the surface. The Victoria Regia expands for the first time at about six o'clock in the evening, and

closes in a few hours; it opens again at about the same time the next morning and remains so until the afternoon, when it closes and sinks below the water. This sleep of plants is not, of course, confined to their flowers, as leaves open and shut in the same manner and is so conspicuous a phenomenon that it was commented upon so long ago as the time of Pliny.

Continuous attempts have been made to elucidate the phenomenon of sleep without success. Many theories have been promulgated, but they have fallen short of explaining it. We know that sleep rests the mind more than the body, or to put it in another way, the mere mechanical as apart from the nervous portion of the organism can be rested without sleep. Negatively the effect of sleeplessness proves the value and necessity of sleep. Electric light has been used to stimulate the growth of plants and, coupled with other means of forcing, a continued period of growth secured, thereby obtaining earlier maturity than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances. In most cases plants treated in this way were prevented from sleeping, the result in the case of perennials being to greatly weaken their constitutions, the following year's growth being poor and scanty, and in some cases they were scarcely alive. The carnivorous plants afford further evidence of the existence of consciousness in plants, among which the Venus Fly-trap, *Dionaea muscipula*—which Linnæus called the "miracle of nature"—is the most elaborate; and is the climax of the order *Droseraceæ*. The leaves, about four inches long, consist of a spatulate stalk, which is constructed to the mid-rib at its junction with the broad blade. The halves of the blade are movable on one another along the mid-rib. Round each margin are twenty to thirty long teeth which interlock in rat-trap fashion with those of the opposite side. The center of the leaf bears numerous rose-colored glands, and there are on each half three sensitive hairs. The blades

shut up in from eight to ten seconds when one of the sensitive hairs is touched. When an insect alights, or a piece of raw meat is placed on the leaf, the blades close up and the rose-colored glands pour out a fluid which is practically the same as the gastric juice of the animal stomach in its digestive properties. The matter of the insect body or of the meat is thus absorbed into the substance and tissues of the plant, just as the food eaten by an animal is digested. The animal digestion can only be carried on by the brain force acting by means of a nerve on the gastric glands. We may therefore concede that it is the action of the same power in the plant that produces the same effect. The motor is absent, but the motion is there. Further, in this connection, the idea becomes stronger, from the fact that if grains of sand are placed on the leaf the glands do not give out the digestive fluid.

The *Hedysarum* of Bengal is an example of movement without external cause. This plant gyrates the central leaflet of its pinnule. Its lateral leaflets are, however, the most remarkable, for they have the strange power of jerking up and down. This motion will sometimes stop of its own accord, and then suddenly, without any apparent cause, commence afresh. The leaves cannot be set in motion by a touch, though exposure to cold will stop the movement. If the movement is temporarily stopped by the leaf being held, it will immediately resume action after the restraint is removed, and, as if to make up for lost time, will jerk up and down with increased rapidity.

The power of spontaneous movement is also present in the seed spores of seaweeds and other lowly plants. These spores move about in water with freedom, and the filaments of many of the liverworts exhibit a capacity for extraordinary motion. In the spores of the potato fungus, *Pythoptera infestans*, we have a well-marked instance of the power of movement according to circumstances.

When the spore-cases burst, a multitude of little bodies escape, and if these gain access to water—a drop of dew on the potato leaf, for instance—they develop a couple of curious little tails by means of which they swim about after the manner of tadpoles. The power of locomotion possessed by the antherozoa of mosses, ferns, etc., is again another example of this power of movement. It is not so very long ago since these were classed as animalculæ, and in those days it was not disputed that these so-called little animals moved consciously and intelligently. Then there are those microscopically beautiful unicellular plants, the Desmids and Diatoms which dart about hither and thither in water. A mere cursory observation of their movements leads one to believe them possessed of consciousness. It is not only in the fully developed vegetable organism that we find evidence of the existence of brain-power, but this power begins to display itself with the germination of the seed. In the commencement of plant-life we find, as in the case of grain (to give an easily tested example) that the root or radicle emerges at one end of the seed, and the shoot or plumule at the other. What causes the former to descend and the latter to ascend? If the seed is so placed that the root comes out at the top the result is the same, for the root at once turns round and grows downward and the shoot *vice versa*. This cannot be caused by gravitation, although Darwin once thought so, as the force of gravity would have the same effect on the shoot as on the root. There can be only one answer, that is—the existence of a directing force or brain-power. There is no structure in plants more wonderful in its action than the tip of the root. Darwin wrote: "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the tip of the radicle, endowed as it is with such diverse kinds of sensitiveness, acts like the brain of animals."

A study of the habits of climbing plants affords further evidence of the existence of nervous energy in them, of

which perhaps the strongest is the sensibility of tendrils. If a pencil or rod be rubbed on the inside of the terminal part of a tendril, it will almost immediately show signs of curvature, and will be fully curved in a couple of minutes. A perfectly smooth body such as a dust-free, gelatine-coated rod will not produce curvature. These tendril-bearing plants may be looked upon as among the highest in the scale of plant organization. A plant of this kind first places its tendrils ready for action, just as a polypus places its tentacula. During several days the tendril searches for something to cling to, revolving the while with a steady motion. On striking a suitable object, it quickly turns round and firmly grasps it. In two or three hours the tendril contracts into a spring and drags up the stem. Movement on the part of this particular tendril now ceases, it having completed its work in an admirable manner.

The effect of light on plants is a striking example of their consciousness, and which is in many ways similar to its effect upon animals. The bending of plants towards light is well-known, but it has been proved that there is no close parallelism between the amount of light which acts on a plant and its degree of curvature. One's own personal experience shows us that the retina after being exposed to a strong light, feels the effect for some time; and in some experiments carried out by Darwin, a plant continued to bend for half an hour towards the side which has been illuminated. Some plants which had been kept in the daylight during the previous day and morning, did not move towards an obscure lateral light as did others which have been kept in complete darkness, thus showing an analogy with the fact that the retina cannot perceive a dim light after having been exposed to a bright one.

One striking element in plant-consciousness, is the localization of sensitive-ness, and the power of transmitting an influence from the excited part to another,

which consequently moves. In the case of the *Drosera*, when the tip of a gland is irritated, the basal and not the upper part of the tentacle bends. The sensitive filament of *Dionæa* also transmits the stimulus without itself bending.

The power of movement for a specific purpose, movement, too, which is unaffected, and cannot be caused by, outside stimulus, is strikingly seen in the many examples among plants of conscious sexual intercourse.

This was observed as long ago as the time of Erasmus Darwin, who wrote a poem called "The Love of Plants." The vegetable passion of love is seen in the flower of the *Parnassia* (Grass of Parnassus) in which the males alternately approach and recede from the females. In the *Nigella*, or Love-in-the-Mist, the female flowers grow on longer stalks than the males, and, to use Darwin's words, "in which the tall females bend down to their dwarf husbands." The *Gloriosa superba*, or Creeping Lily, a South African plant, is another well-marked illustration of this power of conscious movement. In this plant, first one set of three stamens come to maturity and then three others, of which Darwin in the above poem wrote:

"Proud *Gloriosa* led three chosen swains,
The blushing captives of her virgin chains,
When time's rude hand a bark of wrinkles spread
Round her weak limbs, and silvered o'er her head;
Three other youths her riper years engage,
The flatter'd victims of her wily age."

It is unnecessary to adduce further illustration in proof of plant consciousness, and of the fact that brain-power can and does exist apart from a visible brain. When we see the irritability of the sensitive plant transmitted from one part to another; exhausted by repeated artificial excitation, and renewed after a period of repose, it is difficult to dissociate it from a conscious organism. Still less can we witness certain organs taking determinate positions and directions; or study the manner in which they are affected by stimulants, narcotics, anes-

thetics, and poisons, and yet declare these phenomena to be brought about by a different power than that which produces similar actions and effects in animals. Vital activity is the rule and inertness the exception in plant-life; and this fact seems to impress upon us the error of that form of argument which would assume the non-existence of the higher traits of life in plants merely because the machinery is invisible.

It has already been mentioned that the lowest forms of both animals and plants are individuals whose bodies are merely single cells, and it is, too, worthy of note, that the earliest embryonic state of all the higher animals is merely that of a single cell, and the highest powers of the microscope are unable to trace any distinction between the embryos of plants and animals, birds and beasts, fish and

fowl, the mimosa and man; all are exactly similar. From an evolutionary point-of-view there is nothing in this latter circumstance so very wonderful after all.

If there were no signs of intelligence in the vegetable kingdom, the cause for wonder would be greater. If thought is the product of evolution, it must have had its beginnings. For anything we know, it may have taken as many thousands of years to evolve the intelligence of the Mimosa as it has that of Man, although, of course, the latter is an incalculable greater distance ahead. As Drummond said: "Mimosa can be defined in terms of man, but man cannot be defined in terms of Mimosa."

ARTHUR SMITH.

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A MONUMENT TO SERVETUS.

BY REV. TALIAFERRO F. CASKEY.

GENEVA is unique among the cities of the world in having erected in 1903 an expiatory monument to the Spanish physician and theologian whom the Genevese had sent to the stake on the 27th of October, 1553. Up to that date the Papal Church had enjoyed the monopoly of saint-burning. John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, Jeanne d'Arc and Giordano Bruno were committed to the flames by Catholics but it was Protestant hands that set up the stake on the Champel, near Geneva, chained Michael Servetus to it, and then applied the torch which consumed the liberal thinker. In strange contradiction to the Evangelical principles and Scriptural spirit upon which the Reformation was founded, the rulers of what has been called the "Protestant Rome" were constrained to adopt the cruel methods of

their ecclesiastical opponents. Their most notable victim was Michel Sevet-y-Reves, of Villanova, a city of Aragon in Spain. He was born on the 29th of September, 1511. He grew up under the shadow of a somber and bigoted creed, but the wind which "bloweth where it listeth" touched the unfolding mind of the Spanish youth to visions of broader truths than the Spanish Inquisition could take in. Servetus studied medicine, but his profound interest was in theology. His liberal views startled the priests. To escape the Inquisition, which they set in motion against him, he fled first to France and then to Geneva. It is chronicled that on Sunday, August 13, 1553, he arrived at Geneva and rested at the Hotel de la Rose. The prettily named hostelry was an ironical symbol of the fate that awaited him. Appar-

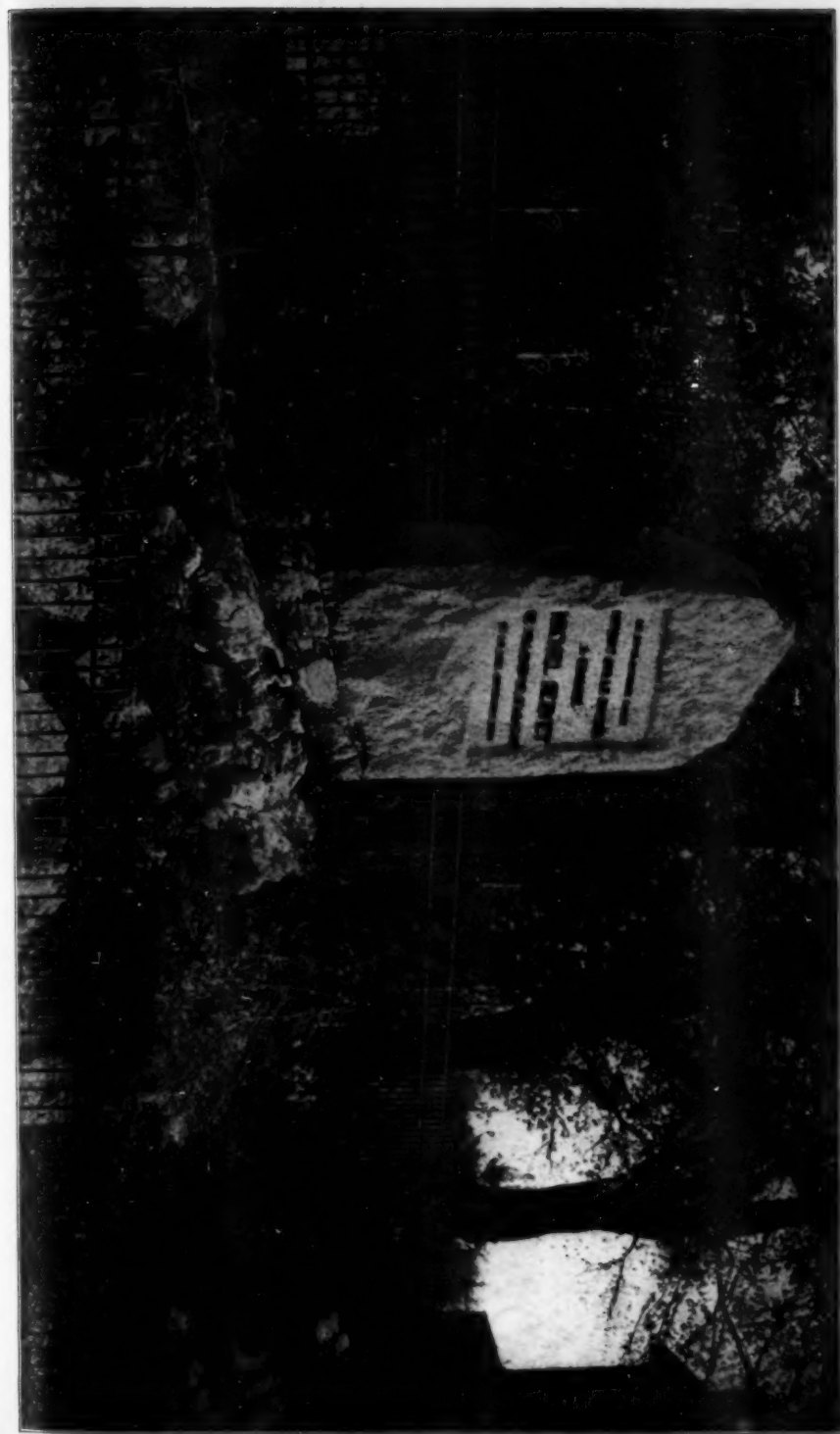
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EXPIATORY MONUMENT TO SERVETUS, AT GENEVA



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ently he was a physician interested in the discovery of the circulation of the blood, but in reality he was an emancipated thinker bent on a reformation of theology far more complete than it had entered the minds of Luther or Calvin to conceive. It was inevitable that the spiritual dictator of Geneva and the liberal Spaniard should come into collision. Calvin was the man of his age and Servetus was the man of the age to come. For Calvin as for Luther the reformation was accomplished. For Servetus it was yet to take place. Hence he did not hesitate to affirm that the truth which had begun to be declared in the time of Luther would go on and that he thought it would declare itself still further in things which to his mind had not yet fully been revealed. To Puritan and Catholic alike such speech was heresy. It was in vain the liberal Spaniard fled from the Catholic Inquisition in Spain, for he fell into the no less intolerant Protestant inquisition which ruled in Geneva. The autocrat of that inquisition was John Calvin, who had conceived and carried out the establishment of a theocracy which reproduced essentially its Hebrew model. The clergy were God's vice-regents, especially the Consistory in whose hands supreme authority over public and private morals was lodged. At the head of this Consistory stood John Calvin, the *imperium in imperio*, whose word was law. He identified himself with the prophet of old and declared any offense against his person to be blasphemy. Under his strict regime the Consistory had the right to enter private houses and regulate the dishes of the table and the dresses of the family. All dancing, music, theatrical performances and games were prohibited under pain of excommunication. It was enforcement of religion, not at the point of the sword, perhaps, but at the point of a merciless ecclesiastical law. Such being the temper of the times, and especially the temper of Calvin, it is not surprising that the liberal theology of the Spanish refugee soon led to his arrest. He was

charged with the arch-blasphemy of denying the doctrine of the Trinity—not that spiritual mystery which we reverently hold but do not pretend to define, but that metaphysical caricature which Calvin and his contemporaries inherited from the theological past. The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion. The Consistory adjudged Servetus guilty of heresy. This body could only render a spiritual verdict, but it controlled the Counsel of State which promptly sentenced the so-called heretic to the flames. Pere Hyacinthe imagines the scene that followed in these picturesque words:

“On the 27th of October, 1553, on one of those autumnal mornings which are so beautiful in Geneva—I imagine at least that that morning was so beautiful by reason of those contrasts which benevolent nature opposes to the wickedness of man—the funeral procession left the Hotel de Ville, where his sentence had been read to him, on the way to the plateau of Champel where it was to be carried out. . . . Servetus stood amid the faggots, carrying on his head, like a martyr's crown, a wreath of leaves covered with sulphur, his well-beloved book, the ‘Restitution of Christianity,’ hung at his side. With this book, the only fruit of a pure and laborious life, he now stood erect before Death and Eternity.”

At the first touch of the cruel flame he cried in his native tongue “*Misericordia.*” It was the cry of nature, but it died away in the prayer of the soul, “Jesus, Son of God eternal, have pity on me!” Well may Pere Hyacinthe exclaim, “I could wish that this prayer were engraved on the monument we have erected to Servetus.”

“Heaven heard his prayer at the moment when it was pronounced, but the earth has been deaf much longer and it is only to-day after, three centuries and a half that men come together in order to do justice to the martyr to a free conscience and religious progress. The hour

of this great reparation has struck, and Geneva, generous Geneva, still Christian at core, but become liberal, proclaims that it is not possible for her to erect to John Calvin the monument she owes him for so many reasons, until she has first erected to Michael Servetus this other monument which is due to him who does not regret having died, and from him who repents of having killed him—both reconciled at last in the clearer vision and Heavenlier love.”*

The monument does not stand on the top of Champel where he died, but at the foot of the hill in a very small triangular plot of ground between the rue de Rosarie and the chemin de Beau Sejour. A more inconspicuous position could hardly be found in Geneva. It is in a plain neighborhood far away from the modern city with its lake-view, grand hotels, fashionable promenades and alluring shops; and also from the Old City with its steep, narrow alleys, historic houses and memories of an endlessly interesting past reaching back to the days of Caesar and the Allobroges. One would have supposed that a Protestantism, which had the courage to make such a splendid *amende* to the victim of its fathers, would have placed this monument in one of the modern and much frequented promenades or parks. But not only does this unique memorial stand in an out-of-the-way place; it does not appear in the list of Geneva monuments, or of the sights of the city. There are no photographs of it in the print shops or booksellers' windows, and among the legions of picture post-cards for sale in all sorts of shops the Expiatory Monument does not appear. Few Genevese seem to know of its existence, and of the traveling multitude of sight-seers hardly one sees this striking illustration of the religious spirit of our day. And yet when we realize its significance, Geneva has nothing to show comparable

*From Pere Hyacinth's Oration at the unveiling of the Monument.

to this expiatory stone. The monument is a simple granite rock set up just as it came from the quarry in its rugged, unhewn state. On the front a space of sufficient size has been polished to bear the inscription:

LE XXVII OCTOBRE MDLIII
MOVRVT SVR LE BVCHER
A CHAMPEL
MICHEL SERVET
DE VILLENEUVVE D'ARGON
NE LE XXIX SEPTEMBRE MDXI

On the back of the monument we read:

FILS
RESPECTVEVX ET RECONAISANTS
DE CALVIN
NOTRE GRAND REFORMATEVR
MAIS CONDAMNANT VNE ERREVER
QVI FVT CELLE DE SON SIECLE
ET FERMENT ATTACHES
A LA LIBERTE DE CONSCIENCE
SELON LES VRAIS PRINCIPES
DE LA REFORMATION ET DE L'EVANGILE
NOVS AVONS ELEVE
CE MONVMENT EXPIATOIRE
LE XXVII OCTOBRE MCMIII*

This noble acknowledgement and expiation of error having been made, Geneva may now rear the monument to her great Reformer, which has waited so long, and we may with deeper appreciation and profit read again Froude's "Calvinism."

Catholicism justifies to this day the burning of heretics, as witness the recent utterance of Lucca, a Jesuit father. But Protestantism abjures its errors as its spiritual vision becomes purged, and

*On the 27th of October 1553 | died at the stake | on Champel | Michael Servetus | of Villeneuve d'Argon | born on the 29th of September 1511.

Sons | respectful and grateful | of Calvin | our great reformer | but condemning an error | which was that of his age | and firmly attached | to the liberty of conscience | according to the true principles | of the reformation and the gospel | have raised | this expiatory monument | on the 27th of October 1903.

builds the tombs of those it has mistakenly martyred. The Consistory of Geneva in 1553 condemned Servetus to the stake, a member of the Consistory to-day most nobly says: "The tomb which we do not refuse to those who leave us, Servetus has never had. We are now going to give it to him on the hill of Champel, on the very spot where his body was given up to the flames and his ashes scattered to the winds, but it will not be the tomb of one condemned to death; it will be the monument of a hero—let me say the words—of a martyr."

Truly the modern spirit has penetrated

the stronghold of Calvinism, and the words of an American poet are truer than when he first penned them:

"While e'er men burnt men for a doubtful point,
As if the mind were quenchable with fire,
And Faith danced round them with her war-paint
on,
Devoutly savage as an Iroquois;
Now Calvin and Servetus at one board
Snuff in grave sympathy a milder roast,
And o'er their claret settle Comte unread.
Fagot and stake were desperately sincere;
Our cooler martyrdoms are done in types,
And flames that shine in controversial eyes
Burn out no brains but his who kindles them,"*

TALIAFERRO F. CASKEY.

Baltimore, Md.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

BY JAMES MACKAYE,

Author of "The Economy of Happiness."

WE HAVE arrived at a critical stage of democracy in America—a stage at which we can ill afford to make a mistake. There is at the present time but one decided drift to be observed in public policy—the drift toward Socialism. Practical men seek definite policies, and the only definite policies proposed to-day are proposed by men of socialistic leanings. Those who oppose the drift of the times have nothing to suggest in place of the policies they condemn except the time-dishonored panacea of *laissez faire*—inaction.

Under these conditions it becomes necessary if we would make a success of the republic bequeathed to us by our fathers, to examine critically the drift of the time, to discover where it is carrying us, and to determine definitely whether it is tending toward, or away from, true democracy. At present there is much confusion and controversy respecting this point. Some men claim that Socialism is identical with democracy; others claim that it is funda-

mentally opposed to it, and, as usual in such controversy, the contending parties seem more interested in maintaining their position than in discovering the truth. Yet in this contention it is necessary to the well-being, if not to the life, of our country that the truth be discovered, for the issues of our day are the most important that have been raised since the issue of slavery threatened the existence of the nation.

Every issue which divides the opinions of men is in some degree an issue about words—a verbal issue—and many are verbal issues only. The most universal cause of error is to be found in the confusion of words, and such confusion is a potent source of the division of political opinions so apparent to-day. If we would arrive at a clear answer to the question whose answer we seek—the question whether socialism is identical with, or antithetical to, democracy, it is absolutely essential that we first dis-

*James Russell Lowell in "The Cathedral."

tinctly understand just what the word *democracy* stands for, and just what the word *socialism* stands for. We must dismiss all sentiment aroused by these words, as words. We must ignore alike our sympathy for the word *democracy*, and our antipathy to the word *socialism*, and look beneath the word for the meaning without which it is a mere combination of letters or agitation of the air. If we fail to do this the whole discussion will degenerate into mere "sound and fury."

Assuming that the happiness of the individuals composing society is the end which the policies and institutions of men are designed to attain, it is at once obvious that if this end is to be attained at all, it will be by adapting the conduct of men to its attainment. That is, men's conduct must be directed or controlled by some means or other so as to accomplish this end, rather than some different one. Three methods of direction or control are proposable, as follows:

I. Anarchy proposes to vest control of the conduct of each individual composing society in himself alone. It proposes to "go back to nature," do away with governments, and all other artificial agencies of control, and allow each man to pursue his own happiness irrespective of the effect of his acts upon the rest of mankind.

II. Oligarchy proposes to vest control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in a ruling individual, or class, by whose will the policies and institutions of the state are to be determined.

III. Democracy proposes to vest control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in the people as a whole, and permit the will of the people as a whole to determine the policies and institutions of the state.

The theories of anarchy and oligarchy we may dismiss without further notice, since they have little interest for modern men, but the theory of democracy must be examined with some care if we would succeed in clearly revealing its relation to socialism.

The word *democracy* is derived from two Greek words: *δημος*, the people, and *κρατέω*, to rule, and signifies the rule or control of the people's conduct by themselves, i. e., self-rule or self-government. The question which this derivation inevitably suggests is: Does the self-rule implied in democracy extend to the whole conduct of the individuals composing society, or is it to be restricted to certain classes of their conduct? To answer this question a brief discussion of the principle which justifies, and constitutes the foundation of, the theory of democracy will be necessary and sufficient.

If the people's conduct is to be ruled at all it must be by somebody. Is it better that it should be ruled by the people themselves, or by some individual or class? In other words, is democracy or oligarchy the better theory of control? Let us see.

It is at the outset undeniable that the people's conduct should be controlled in the interest of the people; that is, with a view to promoting their happiness. This much is implied in the assertion that the happiness of the people is the end which their conduct is designed to serve. If so, the policies by which that conduct is controlled should fulfill two conditions: *First, the end aimed at should be the happiness of the people. Second, the means employed should be such as to attain that end.* Thus, those who control the policies of society should, in the first place, have the *desire* to achieve the happiness of the people, and, in the second place, they should have the *intelligence* required to recognize the means of achieving it.

Now an oligarchy may fulfill the second condition, but history proves that it has seldom, if ever, fulfilled the first. A democracy will certainly fulfill the first condition, and, with adequate education, it will fulfill the second. Hence, a democracy is better adapted to achieve the object of society—the happiness of the people—than an oligarchy, but its success in achieving that object will depend upon

the degree in which the ignorance of the people is replaced by knowledge.

These considerations enable us to answer the question recently propounded, as to whether the rule of the people as a whole over the conduct of individuals should be total or partial; for as the interest of the people in the conduct of any given individual is concerned only with that portion thereof which affects the happiness of the people, it is obviously such portion only which should be controlled by the people. In fact, the fundamental principle of democracy may be embodied in the proposition that *conduct affecting happiness should be controlled by those whose happiness it affects*. This dictum finds exception only in cases in which the persons whose happiness is affected have not sufficient judgment to determine what policies will, and what policies will not, promote their happiness. To attempt to specify the degree of intelligence required by an individual to entitle him to a voice in the government of a democracy would divert us too far from the issue under discussion. Children are the most conspicuous examples of persons from whom a voice in self-government should be thus withheld. Tacitly assuming exceptions of this character then, the fundamental principle of democracy may be expressed so as to apply to any desired aggregate of the human race. For example:

Conduct affecting the happiness of an individual alone should be controlled by that individual alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a family alone should be controlled by that family alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a city alone should be controlled by that city alone.

Conduct affecting the happiness of a state or nation alone, should be controlled by that state or nation alone.

Or, in general, *conduct affecting the happiness of a people should be controlled by that people*.

Thus, we have developed the funda-

mental principle of democracy, and have shown why it is better than oligarchy. We now know just what democracy signifies, and must next inquire just what is signified by socialism.

The word socialism is derived from two Latin words: *socius*, a companion, and *ismus* (a termination), a condition, and signifies the condition of living in companionship with others. As employed in our language it refers to a theory or theories of control of the conduct of the individuals who compose society, and is to be contrasted with individualism—from *individuus*, indivisible, and *ismus*, a condition, which refers to a contrary theory or theories of control of the conduct of said individuals. It will not be difficult to discover the relation of these contrasted theories.

Pure individualism signifies the control of the conduct of each individual composing society in his own interest alone.

Pure socialism signifies the control of the conduct of each individual composing society in the interest of society alone.

Pure individualism then can only be consistent with democracy when no portion of the conduct of the individuals composing society affects the happiness of other individuals. Pure socialism, on the other hand, can only be consistent with democracy when all portions of the conduct of the individuals composing society affect the happiness of all other individuals.

Under primitive conditions when men lived like animals, each taking care of himself, supplying all his own needs of shelter and subsistence, pure individualism represented democracy. Such a condition is identical with anarchy, and under conditions of complete mutual independence between individuals, anarchy is perfect democracy. With the organization of society, however, men's independence of one another diminishes, and their interdependence increases, and should a social condition of complete interdependence ever be attained, pure socialism would be identical with dem-

ocracy. We are at present, of course, in an intermediate condition. Men are more interdependent than they were, and less interdependent than they will be. Hence, at the present stage of social organization neither pure individualism nor pure socialism is identical with democracy. In fact, the extent to which these two contrasted theories of control should be applied to the conduct of men in order to fulfill the conditions required by democracy will differ at every different stage in the evolution of society. Our problem is to discover to what extent the two theories should be applied at the present stage of that evolution.

As socialism simply implies opposition to individualism, it is clear that control of the conduct of the individual members of society in any artificial manner whatever will involve some kind or degree of socialism. That is, *anarchism is the only alternative of socialism*. All sane men are, in fact, socialists of some sort or another. To discover what variety of socialism is at present identical with democracy, therefore, let us classify, name, and expound the principal varieties of socialism at present proposed or practised. In the following discussion I shall ignore altogether all classes of socialism which are oligarchical by design, and, for the present, shall ignore those classes which contemplate the means of securing the adoption of policies rather than the character of the policies themselves. Postponing consideration of such classes, the principal varieties of socialism proposed or practised in our day may be classified as follows:

- A. Sub-democratic socialism.
 - (1) Natural competition.
 - (2) Artificial competition.
 - (3) Pseudo-democratic socialism.
- B. Democratic socialism.
- C. Super-democratic socialism.
 - (1) Communism.
 - (2) Mechanical socialism.

To solve the problem whose solution we are seeking, I shall discuss each of these classes of socialism separately, so

as clearly to apprehend the relation of each to democracy, and at the same time reveal the justification for the names applied to each respectively.

A. Sub-democratic socialism vests political control of the conduct of the individuals composing society in the people as a whole, endeavoring so far as possible, to leave other classes of conduct to be controlled by such social usages and forces as may spontaneously arise. In the interest of the people as a whole it restrains all violent and forcible competition among individuals for the means of life and happiness. The conduct of individuals as it relates to the injury of the person or appropriation of the property of other individuals is recognized as something which affects the happiness of the people as a whole, and hence as something to be controlled by the people as a whole. That is to say, the theory of individualism applied to such portions of individual conduct is conceded to be undemocratic when men have been organized into communities. Therefore, socialism is adopted in its place, and in the present condition of enlightenment all men, except anarchists, perceive that the theory of socialism applied to such portion of men's conduct is essential to the happiness of society. Sub-democratic socialism is of three classes.

(1) *Natural competition or laissez faire theory*. The practice known as *laissez faire*, or "let alone," the practice of vesting political control in the people, and leaving industrial control to individuals results at first in natural competition. Property being protected by law, gives men an incentive to accumulate wealth without fear of being robbed, and the acquisitive faculty of men being strong, and practically universal, they naturally turn their energies to accumulating property by all means not prohibited by law or custom. The primitive condition of industry in which wealth is produced by the hands alone gradually gives place to more complex conditions

in which machinery is introduced into the productive arts, and the development of a system in which such means of production are owned by one class of men, and used in the creation of wealth by another class, is only a matter of time. Thus has originated the capitalistic system so familiar at the present time, which divides society into two classes, the capitalist, and the wage-earning class, the first owning the capital of the country, the second operating it. Under this system the primitive condition of competition in which each man despoils his neighbor by any means he can, is replaced by a condition in which men must do their despoiling according to fixed rules, and under the limitations imposed by law. For the old "catch as catch can" method of depredation has been substituted the new "catch by the rules of business" method. But though the rules of the game have been revised, the distinctive feature of competition survives. The degrading process of contention between men for the spoils of labor continues. Capitalist contends with capitalist, laborer with laborer, buyer with seller, and employer with employé. An industrial struggle and an antagonism of interest permeates the whole of society.

In this new form of competitive struggle the capitalist has a great advantage over the wage-earner. He plays the game with loaded dice because he controls the means of production. Thus the property of the community accumulates more and more in the hands of the capitalist class. The non-producer is rewarded by wealth, the producer by poverty, the capitalist class is supported by the labor of the wage-earning class, and a chronic and dangerous condition of inequality is produced, in which the industrious are compelled to support the idle. This results, not from the acts of particular individuals, but from the normal and inevitable operation of the capitalistic system. Thus the application of the democratic theory to politics, and the "let alone" theory to industry results

at first in political socialism and industrial individualism, or anarchy.

(2) Artificial competition is the second stage of industrial anarchy—a proposed rather than a realized stage. It results from the suppression through a natural evolutionary process of the first two classes of competition, that between capitalist and capitalist, and that between laborer and laborer. In the distribution of the contentions of competition men are very generous. They would rather have others compete than compete themselves. Hence all classes of the population seek to suppress the competition which they are themselves compelled to meet while leaving unsuppressed the competition which other classes are compelled to meet. This results in the formation of trusts, or private monopolies of capital, on the one hand, and labor-unions, or private monopolies of labor, on the other. Both of them consist in one form of agreement or another between natural competitors to cease competing. Thus out of industrial anarchy develops industrial oligarchy, just as political oligarchy developed out of political anarchy.

The policy of artificial competition, as its name implies, embodies the attempt by society to destroy, by means of legislative enactments, the oligarchy of industry thus arising—to induce competition by artificial means when natural means have failed. It proposes to force men to compete whether they want to or not. Its object is to reverse the economic evolution of society. When society, by a natural process, has evolved industrial oligarchy from industrial anarchy, the advocates of artificial competition propose to force it back again into the stage of industrial anarchy.

This policy was first directed against labor-unions. In England where such forms of monopoly first arose they were for years illegal, and the contest resulting from the attempt to destroy them by law was a long and bitter one. However, the futility of the attempt was at last recognized, and the statutes which out-

lawed labor organizations were repealed. In America, where the capitalistic system has matured rapidly, its natural fruit, private monopoly, ripened early. Pools, the primitive form of the trusts, or more strictly the holding companies, of our day began to multiply in the 80's. Their oligarchical character was obvious, and many state laws were passed against them. In 1890, the Federal government passed the Sherman anti-trust law which provided for artificial competition throughout the nation. It has been as futile in reestablishing industrial anarchy as were the earlier laws against labor-unions. In the seventeen years since its passage private monopolies have multiplied, expanded, and coalesced as never before in the history of the country. In other words, artificial competition or "trust-busting" remains a mere policy. It has never been put into practice, and there are reasons for believing that it never will be, except locally and temporarily. When, in the evolution of society, anarchy, whether political or industrial, has once disappeared it cannot be permanently reestablished except by abolishing that rationality among the people which caused its disappearance.

(3) Pseudo-democratic socialism, which we may for brevity call pseudo-socialism, is the third and last stage of sub-democratic socialism. It is attained when the futility, or inexpediency, of attempting to force industry from the stage of private monopoly, or oligarchy, back to the stage of competition, or anarchy, is recognized. Finding it impossible to turn the course of the evolution of industry backward by artificial competition, the socialization of industry is acquiesced in, and the theory of democracy is applied to it in a tentative and incomplete manner. Instead of trying to *destroy* the trusts, the attempt is made to *regulate* them, so as to make them subserve, instead of subvert, the interests of the people. A forward step is thus substituted for a backward one. The policy of pseudo-socialism recognizes the close relation which the

conduct of socialized industry bears to the happiness of the people, but those who advocate it, fettered by the traditions of a more primitive stage in the organization of society, fear to apply the theory of democracy to industry in a consistent manner. Hence they apply it inconsistently, attempting to reconcile oligarchy with democracy by dividing the control of socialized industry between individuals and the public.

We have an excellent example of pseudo-socialism in the policy of railroad-rate regulation with which the present administration has initiated its policy of general government regulation. The officers of the railroads of the country are held responsible for the dividends to be paid to stockholders, and the control of the rates which they are to charge for the services of their roads is taken out of their hands and placed in the control of a governmental commission. This appears, and is, an anomalous situation, but it is not an injurious one, because it is merely a temporary and necessary step in the progress of industry from oligarchy to democracy. Pseudo-socialism contemplates an analogous division of authority between private and public functionaries throughout the whole realm of industry, and, considered as a preparatory step toward consistent democracy, is to be deemed a wise, but purely temporary policy.

I have thus briefly sketched and contrasted the characteristics of the three classes of sub-democratic socialism, viz.: natural competition, artificial competition, and pseudo-socialism. In the western world the first stage has passed—never to return. Public interest is at present centered upon the last two, and the leaders of public opinion are engaged in debating whether it is better to destroy private monopoly, or to regulate it—whether artificial competition or pseudo-socialism is the better policy. Though entirely opposed in their modes of dealing with the trust problem these two policies possess one characteristic in common,

namely, that whether they fail or succeed in achieving their *immediate* object—the abolition of industrial oligarchy, they inevitably fail in achieving their *final* object—the happiness of society. If they *fail* to achieve their immediate object—and they are reasonably sure to fail—they leave the people at the mercy of an oligarchy of industry. If the policy of *artificial competition succeeds* in achieving its immediate object it puts society back into a condition of industrial anarchy, with the added burden upon the people of artificially maintaining themselves in that painful and preposterous situation—a situation which I have elsewhere shown to be inconsistent with the happiness of society. If the policy of *pseudo-socialism succeeds* it removes the incentive supplied by competition to improvement in the arts, preserves the antagonism of interest between private monopoly and the people, and converts the government into a gigantic detective bureau, whose mission it is to thwart the perpetual conspiracies of private monopoly against public welfare. Past experience has shown that regulation of monopoly by the government soon becomes regulation of the government by monopoly; but even should the experience of the future contradict that of the past, a people whose government was perpetually confronted with colossal and combined monopolies would always be menaced by an oligarchy, ready at the first opportunity to destroy its liberties.

Government regulation multiplies many times the incentive of the great industrial combinations to obtain possession of the government. If these combinations find it profitable to control the government now when all they usually desire is that it let them alone, how much more profitable will they find it to control the government when it has been converted into an agency for controlling them. To try to take the trusts "out of politics" by vesting control over them in the government is like trying to take burglars out of the business of burglary by persuading

householders to draw all their cash out of the bank and keep it in their houses. In fact, both artificial competition and pseudo-socialism are the merest make-shifts, crude and impractical. They are but the first hasty defenses improvised by a perplexed community which finds itself confronted by a merciless oligarchy of industry. Neither of them is consistent with common sense, and he is but a shallow thinker who concludes that either can ever become the permanent policy of a rational people.

The stage in the evolution of society which follows sub-democratic socialism should be, and we have reason to hope will be, democratic socialism, namely, public monopoly, or the public-ownership of public utilities; but in order that we may more clearly perceive its relation to less beneficent applications of socialism it will be well first to dispose of super-democratic socialism. Having considered the varieties of socialism that are *under-democratic*, let us consider briefly those which are *over-democratic*.

C. Super-democratic socialism embodies the application of the theory of public control to too large a portion of individual conduct, as sub-democratic socialism embodies the application of that theory to too restricted a portion. Neither course is consistent with the fundamental principle of democracy, for that principle requires, not only that such portions of individual conduct as affect the happiness of the people shall be controlled by the people, but also that such portions as do not affect the happiness of the people shall not be controlled by the people, but by those alone whose happiness they affect.

There are many varieties of super-democratic socialism. The control of the state has often been extended to affairs with which it had no proper concern. In the old oligarchies—in which, indeed, any kind of state control was undemocratic—the government undertook to regulate family matters; prescribed what kind of clothes individuals

should wear, how much money they should spend, what they should eat and drink, on what days they should work, and even regulated their private opinions about the relation of men to the state, to God, and to the universe.

The super-democratic theories held to-day by certain persons calling themselves socialists are not as crudely undemocratic as were those embodied in the tyranny of monarchies and the blue laws of theocracies, but they nevertheless seek to extend the control of the state beyond the point fixed by the fundamental principle of democracy. These theories have arisen from the opposition—and the reasonable opposition—of men to the glaring inequalities among individuals under the capitalistic system, and are attempts to abolish such inequality. Because inequality is a conspicuous evil of our time, some men have mistaken it for the only evil, and deem that if they could abolish it there would be little evil left to abolish. Hence they are willing to sacrifice democracy to attain equality. I shall not attempt to discuss all varieties of super-democratic socialism arising from this source, but shall confine attention to two of the most conspicuous classes.

(1) Communism, or communal socialism seeks to attain the equal distribution of worldly possessions among men, deeming that social and legal equality, which under capitalism are as conspicuously absent as equality in the distribution of wealth, will follow as consequences of communism. Hence, they propose that each individual in the community shall share equally in what the community produces, irrespective of what said individual produces himself. The consumption of wealth by each individual will thus be made equal whether the production is equal or not.

That a distribution of wealth at least substantially equal is essential to other kinds of equality there is no reason to doubt, but exact equality, such as is contemplated by communism is not

necessary—indeed, it is not attainable—since the variation in men's financial judgment and habits of thrift would soon bring about inequality, unless the state prescribed, not only how much each individual should consume per decade, or per lifetime, but how much he should consume per day. Indeed, it would have to prescribe, in considerable degree, the manner of consumption—how much should be given away, how much borrowed, how much loaned, and how much saved, since otherwise perfect equality of distribution would soon vanish.

Moreover, there is reason to believe that with human nature as it is, communism would produce the very evils which it seeks to abolish. Under capitalism inequality of production is as deep-seated if not as conspicuous as inequality of consumption. Not only is the consumption of some members of the community far in excess of their share, but it is these very members whose production is far in deficiency of their share. It is the industrious who support the idle. Under communism it is probable that the same thing would occur. The idle and extravagant would be supported by the industrious and thrifty, just as under capitalism, since if each man is to receive the same share, irrespective of his own effort, his incentive to produce is gone. It is easier to "sponge" on the community, just as the idle rich do to-day, whose consumption is similarly independent of their production.

It is true that communists propose other incentives for production in place of the one they withdraw. They propose to substitute social honor and dishonor for the material reward or lack of reward to industry which they displace. They believe that the public approval of the industrious and the public disapproval of the idle would supply the stimulus now supplied by the spur of necessity. Unless the habits of the people suffer a decided change such incentives are not likely to accomplish the end desired. They are applied now, in a measure,

among the wage-earning class, but it cannot be said that they are effective. There is not much incentive in being one of a thousand who are accorded some public approval on account of excess of industry; nor in being one of ten thousand who are accorded some public disapproval on account of deficiency thereof. The desire for a high rate of consumption—i. e., the desire for wealth—has always possessed the great mass of men. It is not peculiar to the capitalistic period, nor a product of the capitalistic system. It existed long before capitalism began to exist, and is as old as, or older than, history.

This desire of each individual for wealth to be consumed by himself rather than by someone else can be eradicated only by replacing his egoism with altruism. This would be an excellent thing to do, but how is it to be done? As many unsuccessful experiments have proved, the theory of communism will not work except among a selected community, of marked unselfishness and exceptional habits of mutual toleration and concession. Indeed, with human nature as it is or is likely to become, both communism and capitalism must and do fail; and for the same reason. They both make it to the self-interest of the individual to exploit the community. Under capitalism we see plainly the results of this incentive in the exploitation of the community by members of the capitalist class; not because their egotism is exceptional—it is not, it is normal—but because their opportunity is exceptional, and almost everyone in the community is seeking a similar opportunity. A result substantially similar may be expected under communism. Assured that his share of the wealth of the world will be the same, irrespective of his own efforts, the normally selfish individual will continually seek opportunities to shirk his share of its work, and like the monopolist of our day, become a parasite on the community; and those who have the ingenuity will we may be

sure be able to discover as many expedients as under capitalism by which to accomplish their end. It is the greed and selfishness of men which cause the conspicuous evils of capitalism, and under communism similar qualities would cause similar evils, because these qualities are not those of a social system but of men themselves. Communism, like capitalism, can only be a success in an unselfish community, and until men become unselfish, a system better adapted to human nature must be devised before they can realize the happiness which they seek, and which it is not only their right but their duty to attain.

(2) Mechanical socialism is of many varieties, and is often combined with communal socialism. By regulating, in a mechanical manner, not only production, but a great variety of the other activities of men, it seeks the equality, material, social and legal, which capitalism so conspicuously lacks. Mechanical socialism is usually but a sort of outgrowth or extension of communal socialism. As that system seeks to prescribe how much a man shall consume and in a measure how much he shall produce, so mechanical socialism seeks to prescribe how and when he shall produce, whom and when he shall marry, how his children shall be reared, how much money or land he shall own, and to regulate in a minute manner other matters of a personal and family character.

Thus it is by some socialists proposed to decide each man's vocation for him by a governmental commission—to ignore his own tastes in the matter and to determine his place in the industrial mechanism by a tribunal presumed to have some test by which to decide what vocation a man is fitted for better than he can decide for himself. Such a matter as this concerns the individual far more than it concerns the state. It is a matter vital to his happiness, and moreover, as a rule a man is a better judge of his own capacities than an aggregation of strangers.

Therefore, each man should select his own vocation.

By others it is proposed to regulate marriage, and the breeding of children by the state. While it is not to be denied that these matters affect fundamentally the happiness of society, it is nevertheless a fact that no practical system which promises better results than the present one has as yet been proposed, and until such a system capable of being applied to or engrafted upon the present social order is suggested it is better to leave things as they are, and not make blind ventures, fitted only to bring the whole subject of improving the race into disrepute. The present system of public education is a practical and highly beneficent application of the democratic principle to the improvement of citizens by training, and in our present stage of development efforts to extend and improve our system of public instruction will be more effective than premature attempts to secure artificial breeding.

Letting this brief outline of super-democratic socialism suffice, let us consider the variety of socialism of most interest and importance at the present day.

B. Democratic socialism embodies the application of the theory of socialism or public control to such conduct as affects the happiness of society as a whole, and of the theory of individualism or private control to such conduct as affects the happiness of the individual alone. The problem before the political engineer then is to distinguish what classes of conduct affect society, and what classes affect the individual in the manner specified, at the *present* stage of social development.

Since the early days of the republic the course of history has radically changed the degree of socialism required by democracy, because it has changed the old condition of mutual independence among the members of the community into one of mutual interdependence. At the time of the Revolution the American com-

munity was an agricultural one, and the people were all farmers, merchants, and artisans, engaged in what has been called "petty industry." Capitalism was in its infancy. Production was individualistic. There was no concentration in the manufacture of commodities, and little division of the people into a capitalist and a wage-earning class. Trusts, labor-unions, strikes, industrial crises, and the whole series of modern capitalistic phenomena were unknown. There was little interdependence among the people. The farmers of that day—and nearly the whole population were farmers—were practically self-sufficient. Most, if not all, the products required for the sustenance and well-being of each family was supplied by the family itself. Not only did it raise its own food and domestic animals, but it spun and wove its own clothing, cut its own fuel in its own wood-lot, erected its own buildings, and even built its own wagons, plows and other farm implements on the farm. A typical farmer of that day could have lived almost as well if the whole world beyond the confines of his farm had sunk beneath the sea.

The change from the production of commodities in the home to their production in the mill or factory took place gradually through a series of intermediate stages, beginning with the small village workshop employing a journeyman or two, and ending with the gigantic industrial plant employing the population of a city. In contrast to the colonial family which supplied most or all of its own necessities and supplied few or none to society, the modern family supplies few or none of its own necessities, but produces some one or part of one of the necessities of society, and by exchange receives from society whatever is necessary for its own consumption.

Now what effect has this change from individualized to socialized production had upon the sources of supply from which the individual family obtains its means of life and well-being? Obvi-

ously they are no longer in its own control, but in the control of those who own the various industries. The change from independence to interdependence has changed *private* utilities into *public* utilities, and placed the control of public necessities in the keeping of a class—the capitalist class—by whose sufferance alone the people are permitted to acquire the means of life and well-being.

The significant bearing of this development of capitalism upon the problem we are seeking to solve may be clearly brought out by considering for a moment the fundamental classification of useful human acts into productive and consumptive ones. If the happiness of men is the object of human effort—the end of human conduct—then only acts which seek happiness are useful. But if happiness is sought it must be either directly or indirectly. Hence all useful acts seek either happiness or the means to happiness. If we call acts which seek happiness directly *consumptive* acts, or *consumption*, and those which seek the means to happiness, thus seeking happiness indirectly, *productive* acts or *production*, we shall have a classification of human acts well adapted to suggest the solution of our problem. I have elsewhere discussed this matter in a stricter and more technical manner, and perhaps can clear the question up in no better way than by the following quotation:

"In production, economy is best attained by restricting the acts of the laborer to specific operations having a definite succession determined, not by his immediate choice, but by the requirements of his task, said acts being performed with relation to the correlated and predetermined acts of others. In consumption, on the other hand, economy is best attained by the absence of restriction to specific acts or operations, permitting these to be determined by the immediate desires or impulses of the moment. In both cases the acts should be governed by or adapted to the end

sought, but the ends of production are *proximate*; those of consumption are *ultimate*. In young or otherwise irresponsible persons consumptive acts may—in fact must—be more or less restricted to prevent harmful reactions upon the individual committing them, but in mature and responsible persons restrictions should in general be imposed upon consumption only to prevent harmful reaction upon others. With these exceptions, the ends of consumption, i. e., egotistic consumption, may best be attained by leaving the individual to follow his own impulses. It would be absurd for example to attempt the production of happiness by prescribing that every one in a community should eat certain kinds of food, keep certain definite hours, read certain books, play certain games, go to see prescribed plays at prescribed periods. Tastes vary too much to make such restrictions economic, though in production analogous rules are necessary. The best judge of the adaptability of productive acts to their end is he who is in the most advantageous position to observe and compare the amount of production resulting from a given amount of labor. This will, in general, be the director or controller of the given productive operations. The best judge of the adaptability of consumptive acts to their end, on the other hand, is, in general, the individual affected by them. Freedom is thus more essential in consumption than in production. What men desire, however, is liberty to consume, or if they desire liberty to produce, it is only because their consumption is dependent upon their production. Liberty to dispense with production is everywhere more desired than liberty to produce, and such liberty can be achieved only by increasing the productive capacity; this in turn requires the division and coöperation—that is, the socialization of labor. Hence, to obtain the maximum amount of real liberty and the best economy in the production of happiness, it is essential, to secure socialism in production while

preserving individualism in consumption."*

In other words, the efficiency of socialism in producing happiness is high when applied to production, but low when applied to consumption; whereas the efficiency of individualism in producing happiness is low when applied to production and high when applied to consumption. As production and consumption are the only two classes of useful acts, the degree in which the two contrasted theories—socialism and individualism—should be applied to the control of human conduct becomes manifest. Thus on purely utilitarian grounds our problem is solved. *Utility* requires that socialism be applied in production, and individualism in consumption. What is vital to our present quest is that in the *present* stage of social progress *democracy* requires it also. The people should organize themselves into a cooperative commonwealth for the purpose of producing the *means* required for their common happiness, but each individual should *employ* those means in the production of his own happiness in the way that suits him best. Men should *produce* to serve the ends of society. They should *consume* to serve their own. In fact, in the present stage of the evolution of society, *both utility and democracy require socialism in production, and individualism in consumption*; and moreover, capitalism has done mankind the immense service of bringing the organization of industry to a point where this requirement may be met. It has already brought about *oligarchical* socialism in production. All that is now required is to convert it into *democratic* socialism.

Few will be inclined to deny that democracy at present requires individualism in consumption, because the mode of applying wealth in producing the happiness of a given individual is something which in general concerns that individual alone; but many may be inclined to deny

that it requires socialism in production. Therefore, it may be well to formulate, in strict logical form, the reasoning which requires it. Thus:

Conduct affecting the happiness of the people should be controlled by the people.

The conduct of public utilities affects the happiness of the people.

Therefore, the conduct of public utilities should be controlled by the people.

This is a syllogism in the mood of *Barbara*. I shall call it the *socialistic syllogism*. To all opponents of the public-ownership of public utilities, and particularly to those who solemnly proclaim that democracy and socialism are essentially antagonistic, I recommend its critical inspection. Whoever disagrees with its conclusion must disagree with at least one of its premises. He who disagrees with its *major* premise must deny the fundamental principle of democracy—he must assert that conduct affecting the happiness of the people should *not* be controlled by the people. He who disagrees with its *minor* premise must deny that the conduct of public utilities affects the happiness of the people. He must assert that the mode of carrying on the railroads, the telegraph and telephone companies, the packing houses, the flour mills, the steel works, and the coal mines is, and should be, a purely private matter, a matter of no consequence to the people, and one with which they are not entitled to interfere. Between these two positions the sub-democratic socialist must take his choice. He must either condemn the fundamental principle of democracy itself, or maintain the absurd proposition that the conduct of the industries upon which the people are dependent for their food, clothing, shelter, and all other utilities is a matter which does not affect their happiness. No sane American can take either of these positions, and therefore, no sane American can oppose democratic socialism when once he understands its relation to the foundation principle of his own system of government; for not only is the public-

*The Economy of Happiness, p. 346.

ownership of public utilities *consistent* with democracy; it is democracy, and its only alternatives are oligarchy or anarchy.

It is a great misfortune that so many leaders of public opinion, blinded by traditional prejudices and the logophobia aroused by the term "socialism," should reject the conclusion of the socialistic syllogism. What is sorely needed in the discussion of this question to-day is less custom and more common sense, fewer precedents and more premises, less rhetoric and more reason. Let the sub-democratic publicists of the day come straight to the point, select which premise of the socialistic syllogism to reject, and lay down in strict logical form the evidence, inductive or deductive, on which their rejection is founded. By so doing they will serve their country and their posterity far better than by a lifetime spent in loose and lurid declamation about the "danger of socialism and anarchy."

I am aware that the advocates of pseudo-democratic socialism, *i. e.*, of the public-regulation instead of the public-ownership of public utilities will claim that their policy recognizes and is directed by the reasoning embodied in the socialistic syllogism. Such a view is a mistaken one. Their policy *recognizes* the reasoning of the socialistic syllogism, but is not directed by it. This is why it is *pseudo-democratic*. It is not sufficient that the public should simply *share* in the control of the industries upon which their well-being depends. They should *completely* control them. The public-control of private monopoly—even if successful—is but mitigated oligarchy. Democracy requires public monopoly in place of private, in industry as in politics. If individuals are entitled to share in the control of public *industrial* utilities, they are entitled to share in the control of public *political* utilities. To be consistent the pseudo-socialist should advocate a return to the rule of limited monarchies, like those of Germany,

Austria and Italy, where the right of private individuals to share in the control of the government is recognized. If individuals may rightfully inherit a share in the *industrial* control of a state, they may no less rightfully inherit a share in its *political* control. If we are to tolerate a limited *industrial* oligarchy, why should we not tolerate a limited *political* oligarchy. If we are to recognize *industrial* kings, we might as well recognize *political* kings. Our well-being is as much at the mercy of the first as of the second. It is custom alone which leads the people to make a distinction between their right to rule *politically* and their right to rule *industrially*. Democracy requires that conduct affecting the happiness of the people shall be controlled by the people—not that it shall be *half* controlled. It is not sufficient merely to *mitigate* the subservience of public interest to private caprice—it is necessary to *abolish* it.

Heretofore we have considered socialism as an end. Let us next consider it as a means. All forms of socialism, except the sub-democratic, contemplate the public-ownership of public utilities as an end but the modes proposed of changing from private to public-ownership vary. The only two plans worth discussion are:

- (1) Revolutionary socialism.
- (2) Fabian socialism.

(1) Revolutionary socialism, which embodies the plan favored by the International Socialist Party, of which the Socialist Party of the United States is a branch, proposes to accomplish its object, not by degrees, but abruptly. Its advocates will not compromise, affiliate, or coöperate with any other party or body of men, but devote their efforts to winning converts to their principles, their object being to establish a party strong enough to obtain control of the government. In despotic countries like Russia they propose to accomplish this by force of arms. In democratic countries like the United States they propose to accomplish it by the ballot. Once in control of the gov-

ernment their intention is to immediately establish a coöperative, in place of a competitive, commonwealth, all industries capable of being converted into public monopolies being at once so converted through confiscation of all privately-owned public utilities. Although all members of the Socialist Party are not revolutionary socialists, the policy thus outlined is at present the official policy of the party.

(2) Fabian socialism, though seeking the same end as revolutionary socialism, namely, the substitution of a coöperative for a competitive commonwealth, proposes to advance toward its object by stages, coöperating with any party, and taking advantage of any political movement which will aid it in securing its end. A coöperative commonwealth in its completed form is bound to be complex and, without more experience than is at present accessible, it would be difficult to determine all the essential details of its organization. It would not, of course, be nearly so complex as the present system, but it would involve an organized instead of a disorganized complexity; and the danger in attempting to abruptly establish such a commonwealth is that it might prove a failure through lack of the requisite experience. It is easy to mismanage any enterprise, and the more vital to the interests of mankind an enterprise is, the more important it is that it shall not at its inception be mismanaged, lest men should mistake mere faults of management for faults of principle. Should revolutionary socialists come into control of the government of the United States and fail in their attempt to establish a coöperative commonwealth, as the French revolutionists failed in their abrupt attempt to establish liberty, equality and fraternity, it would be a stupendous calamity for the whole human race—not so much on account of the anarchy and ruin which would ensue—although that would be bad enough—as on account of the disrepute that it would bring upon the ideal of democratic socialism. Men

would be led to believe that the failure of the enterprise was due to the nature of the institutions which it was sought to establish, and would turn to some inferior form of social organization. Nothing is more common to-day than such unwarrantable inferences drawn from special examples of failure, or partial failure, in the public operation of public utilities. Whenever a public utility is mismanaged under public-ownership, or reverts to private-ownership, it is cited by shallow observers as a proof of the superiority of industrial oligarchy. These observers ignore, on the one hand, the vast preponderance of successes over failures, in the long run, under public-ownership, and on the other, the vast preponderance of failures over successes, in the long run, under private-ownership. Should such observers employ the same reasoning when comparing *political* oligarchy with *political* democracy they could easily demonstrate the superiority of the first over the second, for it is not at all difficult to cite many examples of democracies which have failed; but such reasoning can only appear plausible to him who ignores the preponderance of successes under democracy, and the preponderance of failures under oligarchy. Although all reasoning of this kind is superficial, there can be little doubt that the bad failure of a coöperative commonwealth and the misery and chaos resulting therefrom would lead many men, and perhaps a dominant portion, to attribute the failure to the inherent difficulties of the system instead of to the mismanagement naturally resulting from inexperience. Hence, Fabian socialists propose to advance toward the coöperative commonwealth by a series of steps, bringing one after the other of the great national industries under public control, and accelerating the rate of public acquisition as experience reveals the details of organization required in an assemblage of co-operating industries. It would seem that this cautious procedure should commend itself to all democratic socialists

who value the success of their ideal too highly to risk its failure.

Fabian socialists are opportunists who affiliate themselves with all social movements which diminish the powers of oligarchy, and increase the powers of democracy, political and industrial. For this reason they support President Roosevelt's policy of pseudo-socialism, or government regulation of private monopoly, deeming it a step toward the goal they seek. For this reason they advocate the establishment of the initiative and referendum, which will place powers of legislation directly in the hands of the people. And for the same reason they favor the public-ownership of the railroads, the express companies, the telegraph and the telephone lines. There are indeed ample reasons for believing that the time has come to experiment on a cautious scale with the public operation of such great public utilities as coal mining, meat packing and insurance, as a preliminary to converting these industries into public monopolies.

Where the public-ownership of public utilities should end it is premature at this stage of our knowledge to specify, but this much at least may be said—that *whatever industry is capable of private monopoly is capable of public monopoly*, and in the coöperative commonwealth which our children or grandchildren should complete it will probably have been converted into one. Mr. Bryan proposes to inaugurate competition where competition is possible and public-ownership where it is not. The Fabian socialist would reverse this reactionary policy and inaugurate public-ownership where public-ownership is possible and competition where it is not; for public-ownership is as superior to competition as democracy is elsewhere superior to anarchy. As to private monopoly, it is not the part of wisdom, perhaps, to dogmatize on the question of whether industrial democracy is better or worse than industrial oligarchy. It is best in this as in other matters to keep our minds

open and to permit experience to teach us. All we need say at present is that wherever the two have been tried and compared as in Europe and Australasia public has been found superior to private-ownership, as is shown by the fact that no nation which has once experienced the benefit of the former system can be induced to return to the latter. However, when we have given public-ownership as fair and exhaustive a trial as we have given private-ownership, it will be time enough for a final judgment. If then we deem industrial oligarchy better than industrial democracy it will be very easy to return to it. As I have elsewhere indicated, this would be particularly simple if we had first inaugurated the policy of the referendum.

"For example, suppose our people at the present time had the power of direct-legislation, and concluded that the public-ownership of the Post Office was making them ambitionless and dejected. They could easily, by means of the referendum, direct the authorities to transfer the whole system to capitalists. This might be done in any one of a variety of ways. The government might agree to accept the bonds of a syndicate formed to conduct the post-office business of the country, and experience proves that it would probably not be difficult to find a syndicate willing to serve the public in such a capacity. On receipt of properly guaranteed bonds, the post-office property would be turned over to the syndicate, and they would proceed to conduct it in such a manner as would be most profitable to themselves, that is, by instituting the normal process of giving as little to, and getting as much from, the public as possible. In this way perhaps the ambition of the people might be revived, and their dejection turned into hope, and the same course could be pursued with any public utility which the nation might acquire. Thus the people would be fully guaranteed against the dismal and dejected conditions which certain unobservant theorists are

convinced must inhere in freedom from capitalistic control of industry, and could proceed with the successive acquisition of the various utilities now in private hands with full consciousness that the old conditions could be reestablished in any particular case, should a careful trial show such a course to be desirable."*

As the interdependence among men increases there is little doubt that the degree of socialism required for democracy will increase—that the degree which is democratic at the present time will become sub-democratic, and that degrees which would now be super-democratic will become democratic. These conditions of society we need not attempt to anticipate. If we do our duty in the education of youth we shall have contributed as much to the solution of these problems of posterity as is required of us. We shall have supplied the rising generation with the knowledge—and therefore with the power—required to meet the tasks of their time. Our present duty is to establish socialism in production while preserving individualism in consumption, and thus to restore the old condition of democracy which we lost by the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The men who founded our republic did not anticipate that revolution, and hence did not adapt their policies to meet it. The government from whose despotism they had suffered was a centralized government and was controlled by a small class of the community, as is the case in all oligarchies, whatever their nominal form of government. The history of such governments is a history of oppression. With the relation between government and oppression thus revealed by history and by their own experience, our forefathers identified oppression with government, and the absence of oppression with the absence of government. Hence, in establishing their own government they incorporated in its fundamental law—the

constitution—a variety of restrictions upon the powers which that government could exercise. While striving to make it strong as a means of defense they strove to make it weak as a means of internal regulation of the life of the community; their aim being to render it adequate to protect but inadequate to oppress. Thus did the founders of our republic apply the experience of their time to the conditions of their time, and to their wisdom all historians have testified.

Had history no more to teach to-day than in 1789 we could not do better than to follow the example of our forefathers by following their policies, but with the lessons which history has taught since their day we cannot follow their example if we follow their policies, because they profited by the teachings of history and to emulate their example we cannot fail to do likewise. Since the early days of the republic the socialization of production has led to the negation of democracy, but it is not the same kind of negation familiar to the revolutionary leaders. The oppression to which the evolution of industry has led is not an oppression by a *government*, but by *individuals*. Both the old and the new variety of oppression nullify democracy—the first through political, the second through industrial oligarchy. It is just this contingency which the founders of the republic did not foresee and did not provide for. It is just this which makes their doctrines inapplicable, and makes it imperative that a new provision shall be made to meet a new contingency. Our forefathers thought that if they could do away with the oppression of government they could do away with all oppression, but it was here that they made their mistake, and in attempting to escape one evil they fell into another. Assuming that to enfeeble the control of government over the internal regulation of human conduct would paralyze the hand of oppression, they played directly into the hands of oppression and deprived themselves of the very instruments required to combat

**The Politics of Utility*, p. 162.

it. They made excellent provision against foreign oppression but they made none against domestic oppression. They foresaw the peril of a foreign foe. They failed to foresee the peril of the foe at home. Through this oversight it has come about that the constitution is now employed not to protect the people against their oppressors, but to protect their oppressors against them, not to secure the people from the power of tyranny, but to secure tyranny from the power of the people—not to save democracy from despotism, but to save despotism from democracy. In weakening the powers of their own government the people have been only too successful. Thus when the several states tried to keep trusts organized in the state of New Jersey from doing business within their borders, they discovered that it was unconstitutional to do so. When the people of New York state through pressure upon their legislature tried to secure for themselves an eight hour law, they found themselves powerless, balked by their own constitution. When the state of Kansas attempted to establish an oil refinery the courts found that the people of that state in their constitution had given the Standard Oil Company that right, but had denied it to themselves. When an attempt was made to protect the public against the mounting power of plutocracy by means of a national income tax, lo, it turned out to be unconstitutional; and recently leading lawyers of the Senate have informed us that any really effective attempt to take the regulation of railway rates from a self-constituted commission in Wall street and lodge it in a governmentally controlled commission in Washington would in their opinion be unconstitutional.

Thus history has taught us that the absence of government does not imply the absence of oppression, that a people cannot save themselves from themselves by depriving their government of the power to control their destinies. It has taught us that if

the people abrogate their power they do not destroy it—that if they refuse to wield it individuals will arise who will not refuse to wield it—that if they fail to direct their own destinies, they will have their destinies directed for them, and if they find themselves the playthings of tyrants they have their own folly to thank. It has taught us that individuals as well as governments can levy taxation without representation—and that they can and will use the funds so secured to usurp by purchase the powers of government vested theoretically in the people, thereby employing the people's money to pervert their own government. It has taught us that a nation cannot be half democracy and half oligarchy—that if it is *industrially* oligarchical it will become *politically* oligarchical—that it must be a *consistent* democracy or cease to be a democracy at all. If you doubt that this be so, look around you at the spectacle of present capitalistic domination in industry and government, and see what we have come to by assuming that we could throw from us the reins of national control, vainly imagining that no one else would take them up. Assuming that if we vacated the throne of power it would remain vacant, we have awakened to find it usurped by self-constituted sovereigns as independent of and irresponsible to the people as the monarchs of old.

These conditions have arisen, not because we have *too much* democracy but *too little*. To remedy them we must follow the example of the men who founded this Republic. If we do, we shall, like them, refuse to be bound by tradition. Like them we shall adopt new policies to meet new conditions. Like them we shall be radical when radicalism is called for. If we do, we shall reject the counsel of the Tories of our time, who urge us to follow in the footsteps of the fathers, whose policies they would make perpetual, relying on our reverence for the genuine patriotism of those times to blind us to the com-

mercialized patriotism of these. If we would act in the spirit of the revolutionary fathers we shall not slavishly adhere to the particular policies which they formulated to meet the particular conditions which they found. To do so would be, not to follow, but to *repudiate*, their example. Like them we shall face conditions as we find them, refusing to be misled into rejecting the example of independence which they set by those who would have us adopt their *policies* instead of their *spirit*. Their policies were adapted to their conditions, but as

I have had occasion to clearly demonstrate, our conditions are totally different ones, and were Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton and Marshall, alive to-day they would do now as they did in their own times—they would be radicals—and when they found national policies had become destructive of national well-being, they would, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, hold that "it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish" them.

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WORLD-PEACE.

BY REV. H. W. THOMAS, D.D.

CONSCIOUSNESS affirms Self and Other. There is no way to prove that we are, or that the world is. It is primary knowing—knowing that we know. Self and Other are all-inclusive; there can be nothing beyond.

Looking within, the Self says, "I am"; looking out, says, "The Other is." The Self is conditioned in and part of the Other. Life has journeyed over this long way from the amoeba to man, in whose body the physically perfect could be carried no higher. Mind has risen from instinct to the rational and moral; to this free and self-determining Self of each one of all the millions of earth. Man is a microcosm; each one a little world in himself, having his own needs and desires, pleasures and pains, and with these the rational and moral self-determining power to will and do.

These are the conditions for a higher and nobler order of existence and being, of learning, doing and becoming. And here should be accentuated the distinctive fact of the Self as a free personality. The order of the heavens and all material

forces could be established; but the Self must be self-determining, and trusted forth in the process of self-becoming. It was not the plan of the Infinite to create a world of free, perfect beings; to be such they must be self-perfecting, or they would not be free. It is in this order of the natural that the rational in man is called forth; and in the relations of one Self to another are the conditions that make possible the moral. In the converse of words, there should be truth; in the transactional life of labor and business there should be honesty; in the sex relations there should be purity; the life of the Other should be sacred; the high and holy should not be profaned. The moral law is in the nature and necessity of the Divine Order of the Good.

In the nature of the case also, the Self is intended for and must be conditioned in the larger world-life of the institutional. The problem is: how to preserve the essential freedom of the Self, and at the same time secure the advantages of the coöperative life of all.

There have always been the needs of

the body, and the higher longings of the rational and the moral. The first desires and volitions are naturally on the sense side; and here also are the appetites and passions. These have their places and uses. But here also is the danger-side. "From whence come wars and fighting among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye kill, ye fight and war."

The essential Self is in the rational and moral. The Self must be self-controlling.

The Self that wills to be free must will that others be free. Free-will must will Free-will. In this way only can there be institutionalized freedom and World-Peace. The free people of our country will not oppress those of any other; all will rejoice in the larger life of liberty. The way to peace must be in removing the causes of war.

There has never been a time in the long and warring past when universal peace was possible, and for the reason that the few have always tried to rule the many. But this is contrary to the essential freedom of the Self. Democracy is and must be the only possible form of a government of the Free. The People must rule themselves. Under monarchies and despotisms, the sad centuries have been the scenes of the almost incessant wars of kings and emperors for conquests and the rights of the strongest to rule.

There have always been the geographical facts of continents, oceans, seas and islands; and the biological facts of the different races. In Eastern Asia have been the millions of China and India. The Mongolians have remained a child-like race under the rule of one mind, content to be a part of the earth upon which they live. The Brahmans of India were intellectual, but mystical, caring less for the sense-side of existence and delighting in the abstract, the supernal. The Divine is the all. Pantheists, we call them. But not till the last century was Sanscrit taught in Oxford, and with the knowledge of their language there is

coming to light a vast literature and religion of that land, and the Chinese are feeling the inspiration of the new life of these wonderful years.

But we have to leave the less progressive East, and journey west to the Persian Empire, to find the beginnings of what may be called progressive history in the slow process of the becoming of World-Peace. Persia and the Persian Empire included the lands and peoples of Western Asia; the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Syrians and Phoenicians, Jews and Egyptians. Together, these form the connecting link between Asiatic and European history; and Hegel thinks that the fact that the Persians were worshipers of the Sun—of Light—formed a bond of union between the two continents.

The Mediterranean Sea is the geographic center of universal history. Here the three continents of the Old World meet. Here is Greece, the home of thought; here is Syria, with Jerusalem, the center of Judaism and Christianity. Mecca and Medina on the southwest were the home of the Mohammedan religion. To the west are Delphi and Athens, and farther on is Rome. Alexandria and Carthage are also on the Mediterranean.

The Persian Empire perished. Egypt, Babylon and Nineveh are no more. The Jews live in the light and life of the great truth of the One Living God, and Righteousness as the essential religion. The Greeks live in the immortality of Reason, of Truth; but with all their gladness of life and love of liberty, they were not able to establish a republic. Their idea of the Self was limited. The citizen must give his time to the State, and this made necessary a lower class of laborers and brought in a form of slavery.

With the rise of the Roman Empire, the scene changes. The Roman mind had a genius for government; and with this a sense of the burdens of life. The broken and scattered peoples must be organized. The Self and the Other must

be harmonized in an institutionalized order. This called for the abstract principles of right, of justice, in the authoritative forms of Law; and this was the contribution of the Romans to civilization.

Rome made her conquered provinces colonies; and in this way all the civilized countries of the earth were united in one vast world-empire. Constantine, the converted Emperor, decreed that Christianity should be the only religion, and Theodocius closed the doors of the heathen temples.

But this wonderful world-empire was not an organism, had not grown out of the thought and life of the People, but was a mechanism put together by external authority; and when the barbarian invasion came, it fell to pieces. The Dark Ages came, and the Feudal Ages, with the private wars of the chiefs and the slavery of the people. The Empire of Charlemagne arose, but it too was a creation from without, not a growth from within, and when the strong ruler died, it disappeared.

During all these troubled years, the Church was a conservative power; but it sought to establish a temporal sovereignty, and claimed dominion over England, Ireland and Scotland, and large portions of the Continent. The Emperors owed spiritual allegiance to the Popes, and they in turn needed the support of the Emperors. Bishops, when dependent upon feudal lords, were not always good men. It was a time of much corruption. Even the Papal chair was sold for money, and Emperor Henry III. sought to end the factions by trying to appoint the Popes.

Religion was largely mechanical, objectivized to the senses in the literal flesh and blood of the mass. But there was the deeper cry of souls for a conscious communion with the Divine. The free Self could not submit to a blind, unconditional obedience. The great German life rose up in revolt. The Reformation had to come. Protestantism must have

a political existence; rights of property had to be forcibly regained. Hence the wars of the Commonwealth in England, and the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

In the seventeenth century there were the beginnings of a higher social order, a sense of coming brotherhood. Henry IV. of France sought the federation of Christian Europe. Hugo Grotius sought to humanize the barbarities of war by international law and treaties. George Fox taught that war was essentially un-Christian and made it fundamental in the constitution of the Society of Friends. William Penn tried the experiment of government on peace principles in this country and proposed a plan for the peace of Europe.

Out of all these centuries of war have come the orderly, peaceful nations of the great Europe of to-day. Events do not stand alone in world-progress. The discovery of America, the revival of learning, inventions and discoveries and the larger commercialism are all parts of the great whole of man and his world.

Man is necessarily an institutional being, and his continuous becoming is possible only in a rational progressive and moral order of the Free.

Here has been and is the world-problem of government; here the dividing line between Liberty and Despotism. In the long past the despotic has ruled. Despotic kings and emperors have ruled and fought, not for the morally right, but for the conquests of brute force and the pride and vanity of victory.

Despotism is men on the animal plane of sense-existence. Democracy, the rule of free personalities, calls for the rational and moral power of Being and the equality of the rights of the Self. There is, can be, no such thing as the "Divine right of kings,"—the right of one class to rule another. The rights of the Self are inviolable; the Right is the Divine. The wrong of the past has been in denying the essential freedom of man as man, and in the assumed authority of the few. But the free spirit of the Self is coming

to the vision of World-Democracy and universal Peace. The great governments of Europe may carry their old names, but in spirit and the powers of the people, these kingdoms and empires are essentially democratic. Peaceful industries and good-will have very largely supplanted the old destructive feelings of war. Hence the glad and ready response to the Hague Congress; and having the discipline, the restraints and habits of peace, their support will be permanent and logical, as will be that of our own country.

It is another movement for world-empire, not by the conquests of war and the authority of the few, as in the past. It is a movement of the free in all lands for World-Peace under the forms of law. International arbitration is already assured, and that means peace; and it is easily possible and very probable that the Hague will become a World-Congress with legislative powers and a world-supreme court—a legally organized world in which war in any civilized country would be rebellion against the universal order; but each nation would be free to manage its own affairs.

The expenses of governments are necessarily large, but the costs of war almost pass belief. In the ninety years from 1790 to 1880 the wars of Europe and America cost \$15,235,000,000. The loss of lives was 4,470,000. The cost of our late American Civil War, North and South, was eight billion dollars; including pensions since paid, the estimate is thirteen billions. The loss of life was 800,000.

The standing armies of Europe number about 4,000,000. The cost of the army and navy of the United States in 1905 was \$233,832,209. The pension bill was \$141,770,955. The total cost of our government was \$567,411,611, or \$91,889,359 more for war than for education, commerce, invention, life-saving and all the purposes of peace.

And a strange fact is, the nations of the earth are, in a time of peace, making

larger preparations for war than ever before. Militarism is trying to make the armies and navies the measure and standing of national greatness, and readiness to fight the only ground of peace. The fact is that this militarism is itself the greatest danger to the cause that is dearest to thoughtful minds.

But a wonderful change has come in the thinking and feeling of the people in all lands. In this new and higher consciousness, war is seen not alone as wasteful; the enlightened conscience of the people is coming to see and feel that it is morally wrong, and that human legislation cannot make it right for armies to kill on the fields of battle.

Hegel tries to give war an ethical value on the ground of self-sacrifice; but over against this is the fact that war is demoralizing, calls forth the passions of anger and destruction. Compared with these, the ethical values of peace are angelic, and man is rising from the animal, the brutal, to the higher life of the rational and the moral.

War is essentially un-Christian. The Christ correlated the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The saddest facts of history are that so many of the bitterest wars have been between Christians. But commerce, travel, the press and literature are bringing the nations together in the new relations of acquaintance and friendship and the larger visions of the Divine, of the true and the good. They love the larger world-home and life, with its "International Postal Union" and "Inter-Parliamentary Union," the "International Institute of Agriculture" and the larger possibilities of education, of art and all that is creating the new world-consciousness. The thought of going to war would seem almost impossible. The People are the rulers now. And there is a more thoughtful study of the differences among mankind. The Africans, the Mongolians, are not such by choice; there can be neither praise nor blame in the fact of existence. There is the

one earth upon which all must live; the rights of all must be sacred, and they should dwell together in peace.

Naturally there is loud protest against the great military display at Jamestown; but President Roosevelt may have been wiser than he realized in such an invitation. There will never be another such

display in our world. This will be the last.

We are nearing the great years of World-Peace; the Brotherhood of Man; the Religion of Love.

H. W. THOMAS.

Chicago, Ill.

WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

BY REV. J. O. BENTALL, PH.D.

MAN IS incurably religious. In order to have his religious craving satisfied he naturally adopts some religious system. As far as he is able he endeavors to find the highest form of religion, and up to this time he has found no religion superior to Christianity.

From my point-of-view, I am a Christian because I find in Christianity the fullest expression of religious faith and practice. I am not saying now that there is nothing good in Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Buddhism or other religions, but all that is good in those systems is embodied in the Christian religion, and most of the evils found in them are absent. I do not say that the Christian religion is perfect nor that it is final, for future generations will probably adopt faiths and beliefs far better than those we now adhere to. But I am living in the present and in order to live best now I try to associate with that which inspires me to reach out for the *summum bonum*. In a word, I am a Christian because Christianity helps to furnish me with, and *inspires* me to *strive* for, my ideals.

After all, it is my religion that gives me my ideals. I can reach out for nothing higher than the objects located within the realm of my religious concept.

The reason is this: God, who is yet a

necessary element in religion, is the composite of all that is holy, just, intelligent, loving, true, progressive, creative, mental, material and all other qualities which make up the Absolute. It is in me to desire to be like God. I must therefore aim at those attributes which I conceive to be found in Him.

In dealing directly with God I find no difficulty. Between Him and me there is no disturbing element. In pure thinking and reasoning and in my mental association I have peace with Him. If I were alone on earth I would be able to continue in perfect harmony with this Being whether it be Force, Love, Intelligence, Creative Power or anything else that constitutes my God. I would find no difficulty in loving Him and all the universe which His love has created.

But I am not alone. There are other beings like myself upon the earth. I must sustain a relationship to them as well as a relationship to God. I cannot be in good and regular standing with Him without being in good and regular standing with other beings who like myself are striving to be God-like. In order that I and my fellow-men may have ideals and strive for them, we must live, and to live involves the securing of the means of life. Unless I can secure

those means of life without injuring my fellow men I am not able to maintain the attributes of justice and love which I find in God who is my ideal and whom I strive to be like. But my present environment prohibits me from attaining to my ideals.

There are certain cardinal principles in the Christian religion which I must adhere to in order to be a Christian. One of them is: "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." Another is: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." But it is impossible for me to obtain my living and at the same time adhere to these rules. In a society where competition obtains and is accepted as the system under which mankind must live, I cannot secure the means of life without taking something which my neighbor also tries to take and which I get only because I am ahead of him in time, superior to him in strength, above him in intelligence or possess a vantage point given me by some peculiar arrangement to which I was not entitled because of any of my own merits. If I thus take this article which my neighbor also tries to take, I must first prostitute the principle which is the corner stone in my religious structure and set it aside while I appropriate and use this article as my means of life. I could let my neighbor have this article in question, but that would only change the wrong from one person to another.

If I am in business, and my neighbor is also in business, I am compelled to look for the trade which my neighbor also looks for. If I do not succeed in getting that trade I do not love my neighbor. If I succeed in getting it my neighbor does not love me. Under competition my gain becomes my neighbor's loss and if I am to succeed and become prosperous he must of necessity go down and become bankrupt, providing competition has free play. It is only by checking competition that the two of us might possibly go up together and make equal gain.

If my business grows I must engage help, and I do not engage that help for any other purpose than to secure an added income and swell my possessions. It is very clear that the labor I employ must furnish that increase which we generally term profits. Whatever possessions I acquire over and above those for which I have actually expended energy in the form of productive labor, whether mental or physical, I have acquired by means of manipulating some other man's labor. If I have not earned all my possessions someone else has earned that part of them which I have not earned. The laborer who has contributed to my wealth, has done that unwillingly and only because of my advantageous position have I been able to take away from him a part of the product of his labor. But the entire product of his labor is actually his. I have thus not only taken wealth that was not my own, but I have deprived the laborer of that which is actually his.

But what about my ideals as a Christian? Have I not eliminated them from my entire life? Have I not run from them instead of making headway toward them? For my ideals are love, justice, neighborliness, honesty and fairness. I have had to put them all aside.

Under the system of competition it is as impossible to put into practice the principles which are indispensable to the Christian religion as it would be to further a man's happiness by transfixing him with a bayonet. I am therefore helpless as a Christian to carry out my desire, and Christianity, which came and gave me my ideals and opened my eyes and gave me a vision of holiness and love and justice and truth and righteousness, has become only a fiend that haunts me and prods me and tosses me from earth to heaven and from heaven to hell and gives me no rest and no peace and no comfort, only tears and suffering and woe and despair. Without the ideals that Christianity has given me I could go forth into the world and fight my own way and

think little or nothing of my actions though every move I made meant the death and destruction of my fellow men. I am in a lamentable position. That which I would I do not, and that which I would not I do. I begin to cry with the great Apostle, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And yet I would not be without the inspiration of the ideals which the Christian religion has afforded me. In spite of it all, I would rather suffer with and through those ideals than live like the savage who has them not. So I am a Christian because Christianity has helped to furnish me with my ideals.

Why am I a Socialist? Because Socialism will make it possible for me to attain to my ideals.

I have already pointed out the impossibility of carrying out the principle of the golden rule under competition. Under coöperation, which is Socialism, it not only becomes possible, but it becomes natural to live by that rule.

I am a Socialist because Socialism offers a *modus operandi* by which I may reach out and progress towards my ideals. Socialism is the material side of that of which Christianity is the religious. Socialism is the ferry-boat that carries the slave from the Southern state of bondage across the river into the Northern state of freedom. I begin by turning the search-light of the golden rule upon Socialism. Will it stand the examination? Unless it does, I must throw it aside. I will not be lenient nor tender-hearted in my dealings with Socialism. It must prove up and make good or I must discard it even as I discard capitalism. The golden rule is a good standard by which to measure this system and we will submit it to the test.

Socialism means coöperation. It means that every member of society shall contribute to the welfare and development and enjoyment of society. Whatever I do under Socialism will benefit myself and also my neighbor. I can perform no useful labor without

increasing my own and my neighbor's well-being. My neighbor cannot produce anything useful without benefiting himself and me. But if that be the case I am already doing what I want that my neighbor should do for me and I do this willingly and gladly. My neighbor also does for me that which he has desired that I should do for him and he does it gladly and willingly. I and my neighbor have been desirous of being mutually helpful to one another because we love one another, and under this system of coöperation the doors have at once been swung open and we have been turned into the paradise which offers us the opportunity to enhance the happiness of one another. I have thus been able to take a long stride towards and almost reaching up to that ideal which I was furnished by the Christian religion.

If we go a little further we will find that under Socialism my neighbor cannot prosper at the expense of my well-being nor can I prosper at the expense of his well-being. I can take no advantage of him and he can take no advantage of me. When he labors he labors for himself and me and when I labor, I labor for myself and him. But if we are yoke-fellows and co-laborers, our inter-relationship will tend to become one of affection and love and unless I am by nature depraved I will after a while love that neighbor even as my own self. There is nothing that so binds people together with cords of love as working together for a common goal. That command, therefore, which has been a stumbling block to Christendom and which has been looked upon as impossible of execution becomes not only acceptable and possible to follow out, but it becomes the standard by which all men will delight to live.

The Founder of the Christian religion has made it clear that people were not intended for a world of suffering and hardship and want. I am in agreement with Him in my feeling that people should have life and have it super-

abundantly. Our good God has provided us with a world so full of good things that every member of the human family could enjoy that superabundant life to which he is entitled. That a few men should be allowed to fence in and build a wall around the great storehouses of God's creation and keep the great majority of God's children separated from even the most imperative necessities of life is a crime that even the Man of Calvary has not been able to atone for. Under Socialism all the storehouses of earth and heaven will be opened up to the rightful owners. As long as there is suffering and want there is something wrong with the economic system.

In a body social which has adopted its several institutions it is necessary that those institutions are put upon a secure foundation.

The institution which we call the state or government must necessarily rest upon a moral basis or it cannot endure. The laws of the state must be righteous or the state is at once in jeopardy. This brings us directly into the political arena. Our laws are enacted by our legislatures and our legislators are chosen by the people—more or less. I say more or less because it is a well-known fact that only comparatively few are now running the government. Money has entered in and private interests have taken a hand in the political game until politics have become a huge gambling system.

An individual who desires to protect his interests puts out money in large quantities to secure the election of his tool which is to go to the legislature and in turn make laws that will protect this individual's interests. In the final analysis it is money and not men that make laws and it is for money and not for men that laws are made. It therefore becomes evident that the whole people who are entitled to the protection of law are actually destroyed because of law. Under Socialism this, of course, would be out of the question. No legislature would be asked to pass any measure that would

not be to the advantage and benefit of the entire people. There would be no rich men to buy a legislator and no special interests to lobby for special privileges. The immorality that now exists in state and national legislatures because of the corrupting influences of capitalism could not continue, for the cause of this immorality would be removed.

Another institution without which the human race could not exist is the home. That the results of competition are threatening the overthrow, a dissolution of the moral home and monogamous family is no longer a matter of speculation. The poverty of the poor has reduced the home of the poor to a mere hovel. The disadvantage of bringing up children under those conditions is so great that no one can reasonably expect anything but people deformed and contorted both physically and morally. Child labor which is now allowed to such an alarming extent that even a blind administration like the present one sees its danger, is reducing the vitality of the human species so rapidly that its propagation will in the near future become an impossibility. The immorality of the rich is no less striking than the deterioration of the poor. If the rich could supply the earth with a stock of healthy offspring there might be some hope, but where one would expect the remedy one only finds the curse. The rich are money-maniacs and their offspring are many maniacs. The idleness and luxury found in the rich home together with the continual knowledge that this idleness and luxury have been obtained wrongfully are demoralizing influences which cannot be counterbalanced by education or any other special effort. The overwork of the divorce courts, the over-population of the under-world and the over-crowding of our insane asylums are matters of evidence that, unless there is a speedy remedy, the institution which we call the home must suffer dissolution. Socialism which would give every individual security in obtaining his livelihood and give

him a sufficient amount to maintain a clean, sanitary, comfortable home, which would compel every able-bodied individual to produce his share of the necessities of life, which would save our women and young girls from the fate of the under-world, which would make it possible for every young man to provide for that which he instinctively craves, which would eliminate money influences from marriage contracts, which would make conditions favorable for people who love one another to unite without being turned by temptation of wealth or scared by the corrosion of poverty, which would take children out of the mill and mine and factory and give them a reasonable education, which would establish equity and social peace, is the only hope of salvation for the perpetuation of the family and the establishment of the Christian home. Socialism has been charged with attacking and destroying the family. Unless we have Socialism very soon there will be no family to destroy.

A third institution which might well be mentioned is the church. While the state has suffered under capitalism and while the family is rapidly driven toward destruction under the present system, these two have not suffered to so great an extent as the church. In defending competition which is fundamentally immoral, the church which should be the exponent of the highest ethical principles has put the dagger into her own heart. The teachings of Jesus cannot be preached consistently together with upholding and defending the principles of competition. That the church has suffered because of her complicity in this immoral warfare, is not to be wondered at. She has been fighting with one hand to get people into the kingdom of God and with the other to get the kingdom of competition into the people. Man by nature is too righteous to be dragged along by so inconsistent a leader. Were it not that he is incurably religious which also means that he is incurably righteous he would

not have continued so long in his endeavors to save the church from total annihilation.

The kidnapping of Jesus by capitalism is the greatest crime that has been committed since the Christian era began. A sorrowing world is running around wailing and lamenting and saying: "They have taken away my Master and I know not where they have lain Him." This capture of Jesus of Nazareth, the workman and the teacher, and appropriating Him as its own is the most blasphemous act that capitalism has yet committed. Jesus does not belong to the kingdom of robbery and oppression and can never become a peaceable and docile member of that royal household. Money cannot quiet Him and wealth cannot stop His mouth. The working people of the earth have heard His cry and have set out for His rescue. The price put upon His head is high, for as long as capitalism is able to keep Him and use Him in pulpit and pew for the accumulation of more dollars it will not easily let him go. But the working-class will not let their Comrade languish in the confinement of the enemy. Labor will pay the ransom and redeem the Carpenter of Nazareth from the clutches of the demons of the competitive system. Jesus belongs to labor and the religion of Jesus can find its home only in a system where justice and love are the foundation stones. Socialism will redeem the church and make her the power for good which she was intended to be.

And so in my struggle for justice and in my longing for love, in my striving for brotherhood and in my craving for right, in my hungering for righteousness and in my thirsting for peace, in my labor and suffering for and with my fellow men, I see the hilltop of freedom and the highland of equity, and I hasten on, inspired by the spirit of Christianity and carried forward by the principles of Socialism.

J. O. BENTALL.

Chicago, Ill.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF A GREAT EXPOSITION.

BY PROF. FRANK WEBSTER SMITH,
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IN REVIEWING the educational value of a world's fair, some general remarks with suggestive comments are in order.

First, *the educational exhibits which make special appeal to the majority are not found in a Palace of Education, but in the Exposition at large.* They are in a peculiar sense the products of education; they proclaim the value and necessity of education, and they are notable witnesses that industrial supremacy and national power are more the result of general popular education than of tariffs and other artificial stimuli. They enforce the American as contrasted with the English practice. The nation is hopelessly placing itself in the rear which does not recognize the principle of untrammelled education. Again these exhibits to which I refer, in palaces of Mines, of Transportation, of Electricity, and all the rest, not only are evidences of education, but are truly educative, because they are based on the concrete and objective, and find in many who pass moments or hours in their company an appreciative intelligence on which to build in true apperceptive fashion. They are capable of stimulating thought indefinitely. Tangible results are sure to follow.

In order best to present the ideas which I wish to impress, it will be well to take a concrete example, such as the exposition held at St. Louis, that being our last great world's fair. This exposition was especially valuable because it *passed the limit for making an exposition educative in the highest sense.* The unities were broken by immensity, so that one was liable to carry away a hazy idea of greatness, and clear and definite ideas only of

certain parts. In other words, the education of expositions had become specialized, and the elective principle was in order for its students. At Chicago, or Buffalo, or Omaha general education along main lines, fairly systematized and articulated, was still obtainable, and besides one could elect and specialize. It is desirable and it is easily possible to combine both kinds of expositional values and to find a size suitable for the purpose. It was easy to see that size, rather than the finer means of educating, was the ruling idea in the St. Louis exposition.

But in some respects the St. Louis exposition merited special attention. Here *for the first time Education was worthily housed. It had a domicile of its own which placed it on a par with other sections of the Exposition.* This was due first, to the effort for largeness; second, and perhaps in equal degree, to the general feeling that education is worthy to be set apart as a world in itself, rather than to be sheltered in a corner of some other world; third, to the growth in organizing power which began at the American exhibit for the Paris Exposition and was continued conspicuously at St. Louis, under the systematic control of Mr. Rogers, whom experience has made an expert, and under the trained skill of the directors of state exhibits.

With these general statements which show something of the relations of the topic in hand I come to a brief review of the exhibits in the Palace of Education. Such exhibits have special and detailed interest of a professional character only for a small minority of exposition visitors, the teachers and other educators, and, it may safely be said, for only a minority

of these. Naturally most teachers "call" at an educational exhibit and get a more or less general idea of what is presented, and perhaps pick up some special point; few, and it may be fairly added, too few, go to study. General interest of another kind is found among pupils who are searching for their own work, with the aid of attendants and of parents who are quite as much interested as the children. Such groups are very human, and are as well worth observing as any feature in an exhibition hall.

In the first place it should be noted that the possession of a home suggested to the several states more elaborate preparations for presenting their exhibits. The home was rather a succession of homes; many were too elaborate and too large to be called booths. Each state had its own distinctive design, dictated in part by location, and disposed various classes of exhibits in orderly and convenient ways. There was no jumble, no indefiniteness. Massachusetts, New York, and St. Louis might be selected as representing richness of setting; ample funds gave them large scope for housing their exhibits. Nebraska illustrated what can be done with small means and artistic direction. Professor Barbour and his assistants made a very attractive exhibit with funds which were almost out of comparison with those of some of their neighbors. But why did about a third of the states hold aloof—states as able financially as some of those which joined in the Exposition? Absence at such a time and from such a company is significant. The preparation of an exhibit is educative for the state itself, driving home facts and principles, and calling attention to triumphs and deficiencies, but, what is of as great or even greater consequence, it is educative for one's neighbors.

The basis of the St. Louis exhibit and most of the details were old. Most of the devices for "exposing" facts, also, were no longer novel. Charts, volumes, swinging frames, with and without pro-

tecting cabinets, and models of handiwork were all there, doubtless increased in efficiency and number, but really presenting nothing new, except the single feature which I have described elsewhere. I can best refer here only to some new devices and methods. That there was distinct improvement is beyond question. In previous American expositions it had been impracticable to present educational operations, whether physical, manual, or intellectual, without having classes present. But here, through machines of the vitascope family, one could see the doing of things, all motions taking place before his eyes. Of course there are many points of method which cannot be presented even now, for only the language of motion can be used. The plan was therefore supplemented by real class work, which may be called a distinguishing feature at the St. Louis exposition, though naturally confined to a few exhibits and chiefly those from the environs of the exposition. In this connection particular attention was given to the education of defectives thus emphasizing the claims of these classes to special provision in public-school organization. Again one found models of buildings illustrating the present status of school architecture, or its evolution. A conspicuous part of Colorado's exhibit was a series of models showing growth from the primitive "dug-out" to the modern city high-school with its classic architecture. Chart devices, while not new, presented material of higher value. They showed that chart-making has raised itself to a science. Modern methods and curricula, anthropological and sociological features, strength and persistence of the educational spirit, and the trend of electives were some of the topics worked out in this class of exhibits. The elective charts prepared by Harvard were especially interesting, showing how modern studies and their applications have advanced compared with the old linguistic group. The general results noted in such chart work

are often not surprising; one could easily guess them. But the nature of the advances and the relations of subjects are shown so strikingly that one not only has ideas vivified, but actually gains new ideas; for charts preclude tameness of presentation, and they offer suggestion and enforce thought in a new way, perhaps in new directions. They thus facilitate study.

Another noticeable feature in exposition methods was an organization among the directors of the various exhibits, in which Mr. Gay, of Massachusetts, was one of the most active agents, if not the prime mover. The directors were organized for active work and met each week, now at one exhibit, now at another, getting the benefits of talks and expositions which enforced some of the features of the different exhibits or some educational topic of general interest. The German Commissioner, who by the way arranged one of the most complete and telling exhibits in the Palace of Education, had a regular lecture room, with appliances, attached to his exhibit. This is a very significant and suggestive movement, and one of large possibilities for usefulness.

In illustrating the educational systems of the different states of our own country various principles were used, the work being arranged now by subjects, now by grades, now by cities, now by schools, and these various grouping-units were used in different combinations. There was thus no uniformity; organizing genius has not shown itself here as yet. Massachusetts, for example, exhibited by subjects, New York by grades, while Pennsylvania had different plans for different sections of her exhibit. Such variety is interesting, but it precludes a uniform basis for comparison. This, however, is a minor matter, provided care is taken to have the work representative, *i. e.*, to keep it free from work that is selective in any objectionable sense, and to give clear statements as to the conditions and antecedents of the work presented. The main question is,

how can a state best instruct and inspire by its exhibit? It is doubtful whether uniformity here is desirable. I incline decidedly to the negative. Comparisons of this sort are misleading, odious in more ways than one, here as elsewhere.

Just here let me call attention to a fact which demands recognition, Methods and aims have been woefully neglected, though they are very easily presented, much more so than other matters to which supreme attention has been given. Great and wide-spread effort has been expended to show us the *what*. The *with* and the *how* have been largely left to shift for themselves. If exhibitors would tell briefly on some of the swinging charts, or on fly-leaves to volumes of written exercises, what they conceive to be the aims of certain work or exercises and the general method of attaining these aims, two important results would ensue. Teachers and superintendents who prepare these exhibits would become more thoughtful and consequently more efficient and resourceful in these deeper things of education and would give more life and force to the formal exercises, so that the latter would take their legitimate position in the educational process. In the second place, such a plan would be stimulating to visiting teachers, and would afford them the briefest and most serviceable means of reaching some of the fundamentals in education as they are interpreted in different parts of the country. Here is opportunity for useful and vital comparisons. I looked into this matter at St. Louis in more than a hundred places, and in many exhibits, and found comparatively few attempts in this direction, and some of these meager and fragmentary. Massachusetts seemed to have been more careful than other states in this particular. School-board reports or those of superintendents, which are included in exhibits, of course deal with these matters and are of great value; but we need more, and in more graphic form. Especially do we need such material from

individual teachers—from the ranks. As matters now stand one must painfully work through volumes of written exercises, and then secure a minimum of the pedagogical material to which I have referred. He may be interested in one feature after another in his special subject or in other subjects, and he may get stimulus or warning as he notes certain plans and methods; but his time could be spent to far better advantage if a systematic attempt were made to direct him quickly to views as to methods and aims as conceived in many schools. We ought also to give more attention to general aims and methods. Emphasis should be placed especially on these, as they give meaning and direction to that which is to rule in special studies and situations.

Another feature which is closely related to the same general topic should be added. A notable service could be rendered if the result of expert study of the psychology of childhood and adolescence could be tabulated and presented on large charts. Graphics would be as telling here as in any department of school work, would aid in breaking the general sameness of graphic representations at our American expositions, and would give new view-points. Truth gets dull when looked at in the same direction too long. These charts ought to be helpful in two ways: 1. They would be exceedingly suggestive to public school teachers and others who deal with children and youth, for the subjects which they represent touch school work and general educational work in many ways and at many places, and are of vital concern. A knowledge of the psychology in question and still more a sympathetic knowledge of one's own pupils are among the first requisites for good teaching. 2. They will relieve some misconceptions as to "child-study" which have been due to the rawness and fragmentary character of some of the early work in this direction and have been fostered by those who have little sympathy with the movement

and like to "play to the galleries" in educational meetings. For many reasons then we have here a promising field for exposition exploitation.

Just outside the territory occupied by the exhibits of our states was a space, all too small, devoted to a department of our educational system which has lately been coming into great prominence and will attain far greater prominence in the future—the department of scientific agriculture as developed by our agricultural colleges and experiment stations. It called attention, not by placards and charts, tables and publications, though these have played a part, but in real objective fashion, which made the exhibit at once more interesting and more impressive. A whole volume is suggested by this one department. Such results as it showed, taken with "rural free delivery," and with other improvements which annihilate the isolation of rural communities, bid fair to revolutionize country life. They are giving to agriculture its true status and supporting its legitimate claims on the attention of those industrially inclined and others. Idyls of country life are waiting to be written. Such conditions will eventually have marked effect on the distribution of population.

About a fourth of the space in the Palace of Education was occupied by the exhibits to which I have made special reference. A portion of the center of the building was taken by some of our leading universities, which had striking exhibits appropriately enclosed and attractively arranged. A favorite plan, in those exhibits which I looked into with some attention, seemed to be, to show the scope of the university and to illustrate some prominent feature of its work which lent itself to impressive presentation. But the publications of the university were most in evidence. I cannot help feeling that as a rule university exhibits fell behind those of the states in general force and in the mastery of detail, but they were dignified to the core. It

remains to give adequate development to this side of exposition education.

Much of the remaining space was taken by foreign countries. I have already spoken of Germany's superb exhibit, which, all in all, probably surpassed those of other foreign nations, owing as much perhaps to the plan of arrangement and the skill in executing it, and to Herr Bahlsten's ability and courtesy in explaining, as to the actual amount of material gathered, extensive as this was. France had an extensive and telling exhibit also, which excelled in technical work, but the exhibit fell behind that of Germany. England made a conspicuous showing but did not equal these other states in fulness, particularly in showing the scope and aims of popular education.

Comparisons of school systems are both interesting and profitable. They give a fresh view of our educational system by contrast and they intensify great principles by showing their application under new conditions. Even common elements have a new look and disclose more of their meaning when seen under different circumstances. Take, for instance, some of the contrasts between the German and American systems which offer a good field for a comparative study. The German boy makes early choice of course and career, when conditions for wise choice cannot be present, and his choice is practically final. The American boy can make his final choice late. The German boy early finds himself separated from others as to both class and occupation. There are certain schools for the people, those who are to graduate early and take up the ordinary work of the nation, others for those who are to have technical education or to enter commercial life, and still others for those who are to enter the university. The American boy finds few fences and these few comparatively insignificant. This principle, if unchecked, makes for industrial and national solidarity. The German boy again finds higher education chary of its

privileges. For the average boy this goal is early shut from view. Our American system holds the university or technical college before the view all along the school course and urges the boy on. As long as we remain true to our traditions artificial class distinctions cannot gain any strong foothold.

Secondary education especially may be made the central point of an instructive comparison. England's secondary instruction is rather unorganized, and is even divided in organization. What is of more significance, it supplies meager opportunities for popular secondary education, and the people use but sparingly those which are offered. Germany on the other hand has a highly developed secondary school system and reaches a larger part of the population, but not without tuition fees. Both countries may be contrasted with America whose system offers universal secondary education which is free both as to fees and as to movement between schools. Such freedom, extending even to the university, is a condition and guaranty of stability and progress.

Consideration of such results of comparative study makes us feel that our own system, in its main features, is the one best adapted to us, whether judged philosophically or practically. It is one of the most legitimate functions of an exposition to suggest and aid comparison.

So much for a brief review of the educational exhibits at St. Louis. One of the old educational worthies would be amazed to see the many-sidedness of our present-day education and the advancing opportunities for all-round development—facts whose significance we as yet hardly appreciate and whose relations we hardly grasp. But the greatest educators of the past would, after all, think it very natural, for they stood for progress and foreshadowed most of what we are to-day realizing. Comenius, Pestalozzi, and many a less-known worthy of other times would see, not

innovation, but consecutiveness. In the broadening of the curriculum and the shifting of the incidence of educational effort one may catch glimpses of the newest humanism. This broadening conception, this constant application of education to life, though as yet far from complete, is one of the most suggestive thoughts stimulated by a modern educational exhibit.

The exhibit was decidedly successful, as to completeness, organization, suggestiveness and attractiveness, and as a record of results. The organization of the mechanics of exposition education and of some of the other features which

have been named has now reached a reasonable limit. It remains for future exhibits to organize some of the features which I have noted as requiring more recognition—what I may call the spiritual forces of education, and to advance ideals in other directions as well. We need to study afresh the purpose and scope of educational exhibits and to realize still more of their possibilities.

After all, the greatest educational gain from an exposition is the impress it leaves of the striking relations of education to all the details of national life.

FRANK WEBSTER SMITH.

Paterson, N. J.

MONGOLIAN IMMIGRATION AND THE BRITISH COLONIES.

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

FOR SOME time the attitude of the Californians toward Mongolian immigration has been the subject of much unfriendly comment. The campaign of adverse criticism and denunciation, which has at last found such full and frank support in the President's message, may easily have led many to conclude that our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast are of baser metal than ourselves and other portions of the Anglo-Saxon world; and while it is not stated as true, the inference drawn is that they are the first to discriminate against the yellow race.

What are the facts? The casual reader of British colonial history will find that measures restricting Chinese immigration were enacted by certain of the Australian states long before the agitation began in California. As early as 1855 an act was passed by the State of Victoria, imposing a tax of ten pounds on each immigrant and limiting the number that could be brought to one-tenth of the tonnage of the vessel on which they

were transported. In recent years Chinese immigration has been prohibited in Australia, New Zealand and Canada by the imposition of a tax of one hundred pounds on each Chinaman landing in these colonies.

It is said that this law is more thoroughly effective in Canada than our own Exclusion Act, recently mollified somewhat through the Chinese boycott. John Chinaman has no navy to speak of and his big army is still in the making, but for all that he has discovered that he possesses a powerful weapon in the boycott which reaches a vulnerable and extremely tender spot in the pockets of our commercial barons.

Restrictive legislation, along the lines indicated, practically came to an end in the year 1896, except in Canada, partly, as we are told, because the exclusion laws were satisfactorily effective and partly because "other Asiatics began to enter the colonies in sufficient numbers to excite dislike and uneasiness." From

this date forward, legislation and agitation have been directed against "the other Asiatics" as well as the Chinese.

In 1897 the Natal Restriction Act was passed. Its object was "to check the flow of coolies from British India." It accomplishes this by excluding the following classes without reference to nationality: (a) Any person who when asked fails to write in some European language an application for admission to the colonies; (b) A pauper or person likely to become a public charge; (c) An idiot or lunatic; (d) Any person suffering from a loathsome and dangerous disease; (e) Any one who has within two years before arriving been convicted of a serious non-political offense.

The act imposes on masters of vessels a penalty of one hundred pounds for each immigrant brought into the country.

It will be noted that the first clause is the only one specially designed to apply to all orientals without specifically naming them. The weak point in the law was the use of the same form for all applications, which made it possible for uneducated orientals to fill perfunctorily the blanks in the application. The fear that this would be done led some of the Australian states and New Zealand to strengthen the Natal Act by providing for changes in the form of application, the writing of fifty words in English and "a writing test in any European language."

The advent of the Federal Government in Australia made it possible to pass legislation of a more general character. The question of immigration was considered soon after the organization of the first Parliament. A bill was passed modeled after the Natal Act, but requiring a test of fifty words written in any European language required by the customs officials. Among the excluded classes, in the language of the act, is "any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in any European language directed by the officer." A

special clause prohibits, under heavy penalties, the introduction of contract labor.

An increase of Japanese immigration was noticed at the ports of British Columbia about the year 1897, and steps were taken by the local government to devise restrictive measures. The number of arrivals increased from 691 in 1897, to 9,033 in 1899. In the meantime an act had been passed by the Parliament of British Columbia prohibiting the employment of Japanese on certain works and designed to check further immigration. The measure was forwarded to the British government and Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, refused the royal assent in a diplomatic communication containing the following significant and suggestive language:

"Her Majesty's Government fully appreciate the motives which have induced the Government and legislature of British Columbia to pass the legislation under consideration, and recognize the importance of guarding against the possibility of the white labour in the province being swamped by the wholesale immigration of persons of Asiatic origin. They desire also to acknowledge the friendly spirit in which the representations they have felt compelled to make have been received by the Government of British Columbia, and regret that after carefully considering the minute of the Executive Council they feel unable to withdraw the objections they have urged to the legislation in question.

"There is no difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of British Columbia as regards the object aimed at by these laws, namely, to ensure that the Pacific province of the Dominion shall be occupied by a large and thoroughly British population rather than by one in which the number of aliens largely predominates, and many of the distinctive features of a settled British community are lacking.

"The ground of the objection enter-

tained by Her Majesty's Government is that the method employed by the British Columbia Legislature for securing this object, while admittedly only partial and ineffective, is such as to give legitimate offense to a power with which Her Majesty is, and earnestly desires to remain on friendly terms. It is not the practical exclusion of Japanese to which the Government of the Mikado objects but their exclusion nominatim, which specifically stamps the whole nation as undesirable persons.

"The exclusion of Japanese subjects either from the province or from employment on public or quasi-public works in the province by the operation of an educational test, such as is embodied in the Natal Immigration Law, is not a measure to which the government of Japan can take exception."

In all his dispatches on the delicate question Mr. Chamberlain was most adroit, avoiding antagonisms, secretly expressing sympathy with the colonies, suggesting restriction on the basis of the Natal Act and at the same time safeguarding the national pride of Her Majesty's ally in the orient who was even then preparing for the big event that is now a matter of history. Hats off to the diplomacy of Mother England! With one hand she deftly turned back the tide of Mongolian immigration from her colonies and with the other patted her ally on the shoulder and inspired him suddenly to smite at a most vulnerable point, Russia, her traditional foe, whom she has feared secretly and hated right royally. Without the firing of a gun she saw the army of her enemy overwhelmed and his fleet destroyed.

Promptly after the veto of the British Columbian Act the British government entered into negotiations with Japan and through an "understanding" secured what the colonists had sought in legislation. The desired restriction came by way of Tokio.

Under date of August 2, 1900, the

Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viscount Aoki—mark the name—sent a dispatch to the governors of the prefectures of Japan directing that until further notice the emigration of Japanese laborers to the Dominion of Canada be prohibited.

A commission, appointed by the Canadian Government to investigate the entire subject of Chinese and Japanese immigration, in 1902 submitted an exhaustive report covering 430 printed pages. In conclusion the commissioners say, among other things, in regard to Japanese immigration:

"Your commissioners fully appreciate the action taken by the Government of Japan on August 2, 1900, whereby the Governors of the Prefectures of Japan were instructed to prohibit entirely for the time being the immigration of Japanese laborers for the Dominion of Canada. . . . Nothing further is needed to settle this most difficult question upon a firm basis than the assurance that the action already taken by the Government of Japan will not be revoked. . . . Should, however, a change of policy be adopted in this regard by the Japanese Government whereby Japanese laborers may again be permitted to emigrate to Canada, the welfare of the Province of British Columbia imperatively demands that effective measures be adopted to take the place of the inhibition now imposed by the Japanese Government."

In this connection it may be pertinent to observe that with our complex dual system of government, according to a recent writer, a "conglomerate of sovereignties that insists upon calling itself sovereign," we are not the only nation that finds inherent difficulties in discharging its obligations to other powers and constituent states or colonies. England has certainly experienced like difficulties which she has approached in a conciliatory spirit with an eye single to the welfare of her most distant subjects.

There has been no disposition to enforce the imperial will against her colonies in the interest of any foreign power. There has been no threat to use the army and the navy to impose upon them an unwelcome race. If, as claimed, our present attitude is "incongruous" or "ludicrous," it may be due to our amateur methods rather than to our peculiar system of government.

The results of the recent experiment with Chinese labor under British regulation in South Africa ought to be a subject of serious consideration to the most enthusiastic advocate of Mongolian immigration. The moral chaos brought about by the employment of Chinese coolies in the mines of the Transvaal, was the occasion of an investigation by the British government and the report was of such a character that it was declared to be unprintable. "The repatriation of the coolies will soon begin and go on continuously until they are all sent back."

In conclusion, it is evident that the opposition of our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast to the coming of the Chinese and the Japanese is simply in a modified form what has occurred wherever and whenever the Mongolian has been brought into actual contact with the Anglo-Saxon. The question of race superiority may be waived; the question of race difference, in spite of the theories of sentimental dreamers will remain. Our brethren beyond the Rocky Mountains, in blood and spirit, are thoroughly American.

They are doing what we would do under like circumstances. It will be most fortunate if the widespread interest aroused by the protest of the Japanese government shall lead to results already foreshadowed in dispatches from Washington,—a permanent "understanding" that, without offending the pride of the Japanese, will effectually turn back the tide of their immigration from our shores. Fortunately the distinguished Japanese statesman, Viscount Aoki, is now in Washington. Perhaps he may render a service as satisfactory to Californians as his former act was pleasing to British Columbians.

Learned and cultured representatives of the orient, after they have ceased to be marvels and curiosities, will doubtless continue to be welcome in our midst. The scholarly Kawakami, in a recent issue of *The Independent* assures us that "the Japanese are good enough to mix with the Americans." On the subject of "mixing," which he seems to view with oriental delight, he will find some sage advice, from one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon friends of his race, Herbert Spencer, whose letter on this subject has recently been published in this country.* In spite of the theories of savants, yellow and white, however, the fact is gradually becoming patent that the masses of the United States and Japan will be much better off with the Pacific Ocean between them.

C. B. GALBREATH.

Columbus, O.

CHILD LABOR: A RATIONAL STATEMENT.

BY E. E. PRATT.

"THERE are two million white children in the United States working in mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade, threading the streets through long hours of the

days and nights, and living under conditions that are foul, unsanitary, and degrading, in a bondage more bitter,

*In the appendix to Hearn's *Japan: An Interpretation*.

and fraught with far more baleful influences in the life of the nation than any black bondage that ever existed."

This is one of the opening sentences of an article on child labor, which appeared in *THE ARENA* for the month of December. They are singularly characteristic of the attitude which many reformers are taking toward child labor; they are typical of the exaggerations, which are excused oftentimes on the grounds of an appeal to public opinion. It is hard to believe that a wholesome and effective public opinion can be stirred by such means, and even if it could be, that such means would be justifiable. However any thinking individual who has even casually looked into the situation, will only be repulsed by such exaggerations and misleading statements; it is the purpose of the present writer, then, to refute these fallacies, and set forth accurately some facts concerning child labor in this country, to excuse nothing, to recognize abuses as existent, but to define as definitely as the best statistics and common sense at his command will allow. The article above referred to is typical of a certain class of articles, and for that reason only, will be largely used in refutation, together with certain statements of other writers, which are illustrative of the false statistics and hysterical modes of treatment of the child labor problem.

By the word child is usually understood, and most writers agree, to mean any person up to and including fifteen years of age. Our discussion will have to do, then, with that part of our population under sixteen years of age only.

Then as to the limitations and inaccuracies often urged against the census of 1900, as foundations for extremely large estimates of children engaged in gainful occupations. First as to limitations; it has been said that a large number of children younger than ten years (which is the lower age limit of the census) are at work and therefore not reported.

That this statement is true cannot be doubted but that the number is *very* large cannot be taken as actually correct.

Year of Age.	Percentage.	Year of Age.	Percentage.
Total.	100.	Total.	100.
15.....	31.6	12.....	12.7
14.....	23.2	11.....	9.1
13.....	15.3	10.....	8.1

Certainly the age of children employed does not stop abruptly at 10 years, nor is it reasonable to suppose that the decline noted here in the percentages of those employed will suddenly reverse itself under 10 years and increase; and further it is reasonable to suppose on account of the very physical disability of an average child of less than eight years of age, that there are none so employed; granting of course, isolated cases which would not figure in statistics and are in point of fact almost nil. Granting that the ages of 8 and 9 are employed, we cannot well assume more than 6 per cent. and 7 per cent. respectively of the total for each age, and at most an additional 15 per cent. for all ages under 10 years of age. Then we have the following:

Children from 10-15 employed at gainful occupations	1,750,178
Children up to 10 employed at gainful occupations (estimated)	262,536
Total children at work	2,012,704

This number, then, based upon the census returns would indicate approximately, but with entire sufficiency, the number of children employed at the time the census was taken.

As to the entire untrustworthiness of the census urged by some, let it suffice to say that of all the sources of our information it is the most reliable. However, in dealing with any statistics the necessary deficiencies and inaccuracies must be kept in mind, but at the same time that such statistics are the best figures that can be obtained, and come much nearer the truth than an estimate by any one man, however well qualified he may be.

Referring again to the above quoted

statement, a large proportion of working children are negroes, in fact almost one-half.

Children employed at gainful occupations	2,012,542
Percentage of negroes	49.3
Negro children employed	991,183
White children employed	1,021,359

Further, the article quoted speaks of the following occupations only, "mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade." By this classification it seems clear that all agricultural pursuits, professional service, and domestic and personal service, are not taken into account by the author and that she refers simply to those children engaged in trade, transportation, manufactures, and mechanical pursuits. We have the following table:

CHILDREN DISTRIBUTED IN CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.

	Ages 10-15.	Corrected for Ages Below 10.
All Occupations	1,750,178	2,012,704
Agricultural Pursuits	1,061,971	1,221,266
Professional Service	2,945	3,386
Domestic and Personal Service	279,031	320,885
Totals	1,343,947	1,545,537
Trade and Transportation	122,362	140,717
Manufacturing and Mechanical	283,869	326,450
Totals	406,231	467,167

Further we have:

Children employed in occupations named	467,167
Percentage of negroes employed in same	5
White children employed in same	448,809

The original statement then dwindles away to less than 450,000, which even at this figure is a large estimate. Such statements as this one, then, can only be characterized as the grossest exaggeration.

The writer does not wish to be understood as attacking this one article only, other writers are equally, if not more culpable. Some of the statements made by Edwin Markham in the *Cosmopolitan* might be cited with profit.

In the September issue of that magazine he says: "Seventeen hundred thousand children at work! . . . Picture the long procession of them, all held from

green fields, barred from school, shut out of home, dragged from play and rest, and set tramping in grim forced march, in the mills and mines and shops and offices of this our land." In the October issue he has enlarged the situation to the following: "Two and a half million children under 15 years of age are now at long, exhaustive work in offices, shops, mills and mines" (note the occupations named and see table above), "of our model republic."

Evidently the evil grows with the telling of it. But as to the alleged facts in these statements the writer has already shown them to be utterly false. That there are seventeen hundred thousand children "all held from the green fields," is utterly fallacious; for of that number, which is evidently taken from the census, over a million are finding their daily vocations in those same green fields, in those happy pursuits of agriculture of which the great poets have sung with such ardor. Seventeen hundred thousand children "barred from school," yet only a little over 500,000 children are illiterate.

If Mr. Markham has any facts with which to prove these statements let him, in the interests of his issue produce them. If he knows where children are employed the 14 and 16-hour day of which he tells let him name the places. If there are reasons that lead him to reckon an increase of 50,000 children in Southern cotton mills during the last three years let him state them. Let him show on what statistics he bases his statements that one-fourth of the wage-earners in the South are children. Let him point out the mills that employ children, "some of whom are only 5 and 6 years of age." On what finally does Mr. Markham base his statement that "Six times as many children are working as were working twenty years ago."

During the past seven years there has been a vast amount of agitation on the subject of child labor, which in turn has stirred up and produced legislation restricting the labor of children of certain

ages, the lower age limit has been constantly rising in the laws of the different states. This is a point seemingly disregarded by many writers, who while urging stricter laws, and the raising of the age limit of employment, deny the efficiency of such legislation by declaring that the numbers of children employed is constantly increasing. The most recent writers and the most sensational types have been putting the emphasis of their attacks upon the very young children against whom they urge that laws be passed, and against whom many of the states have already passed laws.

The present writer, for one, is unwilling to admit that these laws are entirely inefficient, that they have failed utterly in their announced intentions, namely, of restricting child labor. While he is perfectly willing to admit that the demand for child labor is increasing, the present writer maintains that this increased demand is occasioned as much by the limitations which have been put upon the supply of such labor by the laws of our several states, if not more so, than by the natural growth of our industrial system, and the much vaunted greed and heartlessness of our employers. The present writer is further unwilling to admit that the vast amount of agitation on the subject has gone for naught, which that person must certainly admit, who contends that child labor has increased during the past seven years, and that the employment of the very young and small children has been on the increase. There have been a great many laws passed in this period against the employment of children, in fact, out of 48 states and territories together with the District of Columbia, 37 have passed some law on the subject of child labor since the census of 1900 was taken. The very excellent and by all means the most complete laws of the country, and those constantly held up as models, have been enacted in Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois, since 1900. To-day every state and territory, except three, these being Nevada, New

Mexico and Arizona, have laws restricting the labor of children. It is hardly reasonable to suppose, nor is it true, that in the face of these new regulations some of them strict, although some of them are not, that child labor has been increasing at a higher rate than before. It is said with some truth that these laws are not strictly enforced. Again it must not be assumed that with all the agitation on the subject that enforcement has been relaxed. On the contrary, factory inspection and enforcement of labor laws have become constantly stricter with each succeeding year. And yet in the face of such restrictions some writers have the temerity to say that child labor has increased, but the thoughtful reader awaits their proof.

Many of the attacks against child labor have been directed against the South. This has probably been occasioned by the larger proportion of children to total working population, which exists in the South. A statement such as follows is scarcely warranted: "While the proportion of child labor over adult labor is large in the South, in the aggregate it is greater in the North."

The following table will speak for itself:

Persons over 16, working in the South.....	6,574,245
Children working in the South.....	1,045,377
Children working in the North.....	678,852
Children working in the West.....	30,949

To really arrive at a true view of the situation the industrial distribution of working children in the North and South must be compared; which gives us the following:

	INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING CHILDREN.			
	North.		South.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
1 Agriculture.....	219,021	2,907	368,789	458,885
2 Domestic and Personal Service	132,384	7,296	43,782	86,783
3 Trade and Transportation..	92,529	1,358	17,110	6,790
4 Manufacturing and Mechanical	214,059	1,172	54,704	7,849
Totals.....	657,993	12,733	484,390	560,277
3 and 4.....	306,588		71,814	

(15 per cent. for ages up to 10 may be added at the pleasure of the reader.)

The writer would not for a moment shut the negro child out of our figures on any prejudicial grounds, but we rule him out of the problem so far as he is considered in the same class with the white child, because his problem is not the same. The negro reaches the age of puberty and also maturity much earlier than the white child. Thus the negro child of 12 or even 10 is the equal of his white neighbor of 14 or 15 years in all physical attainments. It is thus entirely unscientific to present his cause in the same category with the white child. However, not only can it be said of the negro child that its physical development takes place prior to that of the white child, but a physiological point which has been entirely overlooked by writers on this subject is that the child of the South develops earlier than those in Northern climes. The physical development of the Southern child is especially precocious. This may, and without doubt influences, the causes of the proportionally larger number of children employed in the South than in the North, as is shown by the following table, and would certainly act as a palliative for such abuses as may exist.

NORTH.			
Men.....	15,915,178	80	per cent.
Women.....	3,242,968	16.5	per cent.
Children.....	704,801	3.5	per cent.
SOUTH.			
Men.....	8,574,247	71.3	per cent.
Women.....	1,590,662	17.4	per cent.
Children.....	1,045,377	11.3	per cent.

We come now to a question of vital importance in the problem of child labor, a discrimination which has almost been passed over wholly by writers on the subject. It will be noted from the foregoing tables that in the South agricultural pursuits predominate among those children employed at gainful occupations; that the number employed in trade and transportation, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits is very much less than in the North. Further it should be noted that the majority of the laboring children in the South and especially in the agri-

cultural pursuits and domestic and personal service are negroes, which we have ruled out of our inquiry in this immediate connection as presenting in no wise an analogous problem. The percentages of negro children employed in trade, transportation, manufactures, and mechanical pursuits are large. There being but 484,390 white children employed in the South to 657,998 in the North; in the special pursuits mentioned there are but 71,814 white children employed in the South as against 306,588 in the North.

It should be perfectly evident to an observer or thinker that agriculture does not present the same problem of child labor that does factory and mill work. That in our discussions they should be kept separate follows directly. Many of our foremost social reformers have advocated the country as the place to raise children; that much must be conceded by any student of the relative merits of the city and the country for the child. That the child has in every way superior advantages if working on the soil, is hardly a debatable question. The facts are, however, that most if not all of the white children returned as farm laborers, work as such but a portion of the year, during the busy season of the year, during the harvesting and planting, and the remainder of their time attend the country school. The negro children in the South probably work harder and longer, and get less schooling, but this is not the fault of any system of child labor, but because of inadequate school facilities for those who would willingly attend.

The exaggeration of conditions in the South has been distinctly added to by Mrs. Van Vorst, who after visiting a few mills, and describing those which are admittedly, even by Mrs. Van Vorst herself, to be the worst environed, has set that type as typical rather than the exceptional, which is really the case. In truth, it may be noted, that the worst pictures in her book, *The Woman Who Toils*, are drawn not from the conditions of labor within the mill but of its environ-

ment, of the conditions of living, then, rather than conditions of work; induced, perhaps, by the congested laborers, but not at all by child laborers, an important but entirely different question of social welfare.

One of Mrs. Van Vorst's statements cannot go unchallenged here. She says, "to-day, as for years past, Southern cotton mills are employing the labor of children under tender age, employing an army of them to the number of 20,000 under twelve." Such statements, together with phrases of how "babies can be employed successfully for 13 hours out of 24, with men and women," and how "infants feed mechanism," have distorted and enlarged the real evils, and yet this author has been quoted as an authority in the United States Senate, in a speech which has been scattered broadcast over the country. The facts are that in 1900, the 17 states ranked as Southern, had a working population of children as follows:

Age.	Number.
10.....	2,685
11.....	3,475
12.....	4,620
10-12.....	10,770
15 per cent additional for ages up to 10.....	12,306

It seems scarcely possible that the census was so grossly inaccurate or that the number should have so quickly doubled itself.

The Southern cotton mill, however, is not the terrible den that it is depicted to be. They are, as a rule, large and commodious brick structures; well lighted, as the character of the work demands; fairly well ventilated; the work, though confining, is not of a physically exhausting kind; the children's tasks in the mills are especially light. Exceptional cases of very small children employed in the mills may possibly exist, but it is hard to believe that a manager would consider his capital yielding a normal return if his machines were operated by tots of 5 and 6, who must stand on boxes to reach the looms. The writer has visited many Southern cotton mills, but has never seen

a small child working a loom. They are usually employed as spinners, or doffers, or sweepers, or some small work of assisting their elders. And those children have never even appeared as young or as badly off as they are usually pictured.

The emphasis in almost all discussions of the subject before us is placed upon the children who work in mills, mines, and factories. Almost nothing is said of that great number employed in agriculture; the emphasis is always placed on the babies, infants, children of "only three, four, and up to eight years of age." Then with the background of terrible conditions of work before the reader, great numbers are flashed on the canvas of the mind, the figures of child laborers are declared to be two million white children, or two and a half million child slaves. The effect produced is the joining of these two pictures and the unsuspecting naturally think that there are millions of babies of less than eight years of age at work under these terrible conditions. The facts are quite the reverse. Of all the children in the United States, less than 200,000 work in mills, mines, and factories, allowing the additional 15 per cent. for those children below census age; at least half of these are over twelve years of age and are, therefore, not the victims usually depicted. While at least half of those remaining are in places of work which are at least sanitary, and in many cases as well ventilated and as wholesome places as the homes from which the children come. In many factories conditions are infinitely better than the average homes of the workingmen who are employed there. Therefore, there are few out of all the much decried and bewritten children of tender years laboring in immeasurably unsanitary and unwholesome conditions, who are recorded in the millions by those popular writers on child labor; the number dwindles away to less than 50,000.

In all the United States, exclusive of agriculture, less than 12,000 children of ten years of age are at work. The most

of these probably for but a part of their time. At about twelve years, however, in the poorer families the question of the children going to work comes up. The child often wishes to go to work and to leave school; this feeling predominates among all classes and reveals a defect in our school system. Often the parent forces the boy or girl to remain at school, oftentimes they allow them to go to work to aid the family income. The average boy of 12 can earn from \$3 to \$4 per week, which means a great addition to the family income, being in the most cases sufficient to pay rental. That the majority of those children who go to work at early ages, go into slavery, that they work long hours in terrible conditions, I deny. It would be exceedingly interesting if writers would support their statements with citations of facts. Let them state where it is that "babies can be employed successfully 13 hours out of 24 at all machines." If such cases actually exist let them be pointed out, exactly so that the skeptic may go and see. Of the establishments reported in the Report of the Department of Labor in 1904, on Hours and Wages of Labor, the average hours per week in cotton mills was 60, an average of 10 hours per day, the mill working longest time ran but 66 hours per week, or 11 hours per day on the average.

In New Orleans where laws and their enforcement are lax, the cotton mills, which are among the largest in the South, operate but 60 hours per week, being 10½ hours per day and a cessation of work at 4 P. M. on Saturdays. Other industries run about the same length of time. Wages for children vary from \$2.50 per week to about \$4.00 per week, with more receiving a wage near the upper amount

than the lower. In certain settlement work in which the writer is engaged he has had an opportunity to watch some of "these youthful slaves, their senses dulled, their steps slow and languid, their faces haggard," and in the evenings at the settlement gymnasium, and at the Sunday ball game, the boys who have worked in the cotton mills 10½ hours a day or their 60 hours per week are just as bright and just as active, and are the equals in the sports of any of the boys who have spent their time in school.

The writer's position on the subject of child labor must not be misunderstood. He does not, for a moment, advocate child labor in any form, or under any conditions whatever, but he does wish to array himself against those popular writers who have been and are grossly exaggerating the child labor situation. He protests against any false position, any exaggeration of the problem. If there are 50,000 children in this country who are suffering as it has been said that two millions are, how much easier the problem, if it becomes merely a vile ornament of our industrial structure, rather than a supporting column the loss of which means destruction. And how much more hopeful ought we to be if the laws already enacted are really doing some of the things they were intended to do rather than finding that they had done nothing and that abuses were going on unrestrained under laws intended to check them. How much brighter the whole situation looks when we find that the black incidents cited are abnormal and exceptional.

My appeal is to reason and for a rational treatment of the child labor problem.

E. E. PRATT.

New Orleans, La.

THE "DEFEAT" OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP IN LONDON.

BY FRANK F. STONE.

THOUGH the subsidized press dispatches (emanating from trust-controlled "news" bureaus at Washington) which have done duty all over the United States as "news" on the above subject, can deceive only the ignorant or the careless reader, yet we have to remember how multitudinous is that element in society. Indeed it is from that element chiefly, in London itself, that the trust partisans have drawn the vote that has temporarily eclipsed the progressives in the London County Council at Spring Gardens.

By an unstinted output of money, the financial interests that seek to capture (for private profit) control of the almost incalculably valuable electric-light and power supply of London; by means of money poured out like water from the enormous (though secret) sums necessary to influence certain dailies supposed to be loyal to the project, down to the *four shillings a head* offered more or less openly to unemployed men to "demonstrate" in a "moderate" procession to Trafalgar Square, the anti-progressive or trust interests have deluged London, not only through the newspapers, but in millions of pamphlets and tracts, with reckless and audacious charges against the Progressive or municipal-ownership party, of enormously raising the rates through losses by mismanagement and the undertaking of functions which would better be left to private enterprise.

That these falsehoods and calumnies have been again and again exposed and disproved makes no difference. It is "one down, t' other come on" with the trust party. "There's plenty of money" to pay for the invention and circulation of another falsehood as soon as one is

disproved. And they never retract or apologize, nor even notice a refutation. Thus when Mr. Barnes and Alderman Alliston, both important members of the Moderate party were forced in the council meetings to correct reckless statements made in the Moderate party organs—statements which these gentlemen felt it incumbent on them to disown and deprecate as mere "election cries"—their party organs omitted this part of their speeches as reported.

"*There's plenty of money; we'll pay four shillings for every man in the procession, and you can charge what you like for your services*"—that is what Mr. Cameron, a trust agent connected with the London *Evening News*, told Jack Williams, the Socialist Labor leader, when trying to enlist the latter's services to bring a contingent of unemployed to "demonstrate" against the Progressives. Williams replied that he could "not belong to his class" and published the *Evening News* telegrams in the Progressive press.

All sorts of mare's nests were discovered and published under scare headlines by the trust papers. "Blind by order of the L. C. C." was the glaring caption to a sensational and widely circulated screed about a badly lighted school—which turned out after all to be *outside the L. C. C. area and jurisdiction*. Did the Moderate papers apologize or own their error? No, they simply dropped the matter and proceeded with a new cry, to the effect that the L. C. C., having engaged in the brick-making industry, was wasting the citizens' money in making bricks that were "unfit for use." "Bricks Scandal," "London County Council Wastrels," and such like headlines in the papers, not

to mention leaflets literally by the millions, flooded London for days. A letter from an "expert" named Roberts, condemning the L. C. C. bricks, and a "faked" photograph of "bad" bricks made great play in the Moderate organs. On investigation the facts were shown to be as follows: The L. C. C. had acquired a piece of land at Norbury, a London suburb, on which was a vast deposit of clay that would have to be removed. Seeing that there was an old brick-making plant on the place, the council decided that instead of carting away the clay, they would save the rate-payers' money by making the clay into bricks. On the raising of the Moderate hue and cry, an inquiry was held which demonstrated that of eleven million bricks made, three per cent. only were faulty—a quite normal percentage where bricks are made by the old method. Incidentally Roberts, the "expert," was shown to have a jail record—and a recent one—as a fraudulent bankrupt.

Again, did the trust papers own their error or even notice the disproof? Certainly not. They simply dropped this cry and started another to be in its turn exploded and dropped, but never apologized for. Indeed, though the trust agents no longer like even to hear the word "bricks" in London, they have revived the story for American consumption.

Now the truth about the rise in the rates, over which the Moderate or trust party affected to be so much concerned, is that they had only risen one farthing (half a cent) in the pound during the past three years, at the beginning of which the Progressives received their last mandate, and only two pence in ten years.

And now that their outcry has prevailed and they are "in," the Moderate party, through its organs, is already "hedging" on its promises of reduced rates. As one Moderate daily puts it, with humorous effrontery, "It is doubtful if there will be any reduction in rates. London cannot

be governed according to the standard of its most parsimonious citizen." The cohort of trust partisans, led by the enormously wealthy landlord Duke of Norfolk (who himself robs the community vastly by rate-evasion), having poured out the torrents of commiseration on the poor rate-payer, and promised him relief if he would but vote the Moderates in; having by all this dunning of the apathetic because ignorant and easy-going non-voter of other years, succeeded in stabbing him into going to the poll for once and voting for the party that promised him reduced rates, now coldly tells him he must not expect the promised boon. It was only their "fun" to get the Progressives out. That it was the ordinary non-voter who caused the election of the trust party, the increased Progressive vote is sufficient testimony.

A notable instance of dishonest criticism of the Progressives was furnished in the London Municipal Steamboat matter. Among the loudest-mouthed Moderates who are condemning that undertaking because it has not "paid" are several who, when interrogated before the preliminary commission of inquiry, supported the plan as "eminently commendable," while admitting that it could not be expected to pay for a few years to come.

The popular writer, George R. Sims, in his paper, *The Referee*, also undertook to champion the trust party in opposition to the "socialistic" Progressive; and like the rest of the trust champions, he never retracted. His facts and figures were disproved over and over again. He merely went on from one misstatement to another equally baseless. A referee is supposed to see fair play, but this "Referee" is not above joining in the scrimmage and kicking the player of one side below the belt. One of his most glaringly absurd assertions was to the effect that the London Municipal authorities had "piled up such a monument of indebtedness that the debt charged equaled the sum raised in rates."

For this to be true would mean that the council was providing its current expenditure for the government of London out of its tramway and other undertakings, which would indeed be a proof of Progressive financial genius, were it true.

Chief among the official and financial sources of the crusade of falsehood concerning the Progressives' administration of the London County Council is that organization which calls itself the London Municipal Society, of which the Duke of Norfolk is president. His Grace is the man who, since his property round about the Thames Embankment reverted to him with all its improvements, after an eighty years' lease, has released these houses, which others built, on short leases, charging enormously higher rents and a heavy premium for renewal each time. On increase of value made largely by his tenants' business, which they cannot take elsewhere, this landlord (who pities the poor rate-payer) raises rents by the two and three hundred per cent. at a bound. Yet he contributed not one penny to the cost of the Embankment which helped him to treble his rents. Ground landlords, like this Duke of Norfolk, and financiers of the stripe of Mr. Harry Marks, M.P., with his unsavory Ray Mines record,—such are the men who have pooled their interests in a campaign of misrepresentation against the Progressive party, because that party stands for taxation of ground rents, and also proposed to balk these trust cormorants in their design upon the people's electric power supply.

The cry now raised on this side of the Atlantic over the result of the London

election, of "failure," of "defeat," of municipal-ownership in London, is not merely misleading; it is a deliberate falsehood. The Moderates did not fight the election on a municipal-ownership issue at all. Their own chief spokesman on the council admitted in set terms that the tramway undertaking was a success on which there could be no reversal of policy. But on money from the trust interests who are after the electric power monopoly, they raised a sudden and deafening outcry of mismanagement and heavy rates. They raised sufficient din to frighten the unthinking into fearing their pockets were in danger. Many a voter who went Moderate will see ere long, if he does not already, that he had been duped.

As to whether municipal-ownership pays—take the London County Council returns on its northern and southern systems of trams for the past seven and a quarter and nine and three-quarters years respectively. After setting aside charges for interest and repayment of capital, and a sum for renewals, reserve, etc., the profits amount to over one million, six hundred thousand dollars; and this while paying its employes better and working them less hours than did the private companies. When London owns the remainder of its tram system, the profits will be so much the larger.

No, municipal-ownership in London is *not* a "failure," and has not been "defeated," even though the trusts have succeeded in temporarily hoodwinking the less alert among London's voting citizenship.

FRANK F. STONE.

Los Angeles, Calif.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

BRAND WHITLOCK: MAYOR, NOVELIST, DEMOCRAT.

On The Ramparts of Progress.

IN RECENT years the cause of genuine democracy—of just and free popular government—has lost many distinguished leaders who have fought nobly on the firing line of progress, reckless of self and overmastered by the spirit of justice,—the ideal of the Golden Rule. James G. Clark, the poet of freedom, Henry Demarest Lloyd, the pilgrim messenger of progressive democracy, Samuel M. Jones, the Golden Rule mayor of Toledo, and Ernest H. Crosby, the prophet of justice and apostle of peace, are but a few strong spirits that no longer respond to the roll-call of democracy's leaders on this side of the Great Divide.

But as one by one these men have fallen in the front of the fray, with armor on and hands upraised in defense of the weak and the wronged, other younger men have moved forward and taken their places. This sublime spectacle is the pledge of democracy's ultimate inevitable victory; and among these true leaders who belong to civilization's advance guard as truly as did Franklin, Jefferson and Washington in the earlier day, one of the strongest and finest of the young men is Brand Whitlock, successor to Samuel M. Jones as chief executive of Toledo, Ohio, and he has nobly exemplified the spirit that dominated his predecessor.

Mr. Whitlock, whose distinctly great American novel, *The Turn of The Balance*, is the subject of our book study this month, was born in Urbana, Ohio, in 1869. His father, the Rev. Elias D. Whitlock, D.D., was a clergyman of power and conviction, and it is highly probable that some of the sturdy moral idealism that is so marked a characteristic of the young Mayor of Toledo was imbibed in the home of his father. The lad finally decided to become a lawyer, though he had a strong taste for writing. Indeed, law and literature each beckoned him so irresistibly that while adopting the former for his regular profession, he devoted his leisure to literary pursuits. He was admitted to the bar in

1894, and in recent years he has written three novels which have enjoyed considerable popularity. They were pleasing stories, indicating some degree of imaginative power on the part of the author, as well as close observation of human life, and were written in an easy, graceful style. Still, they gave small promise of any great achievement in romance like *The Turn of The Balance*, and we imagine that they were written before the young man was spiritually awakened, or at least before the graver problems of life were borne in upon his consciousness with overmastering power.

The Turn of The Balance is the child of a brain aglow with deep sympathy for earth's unfortunates; a brain illumined by the divine light of justice and awakened to the august message of democracy to the children of men in the present crucial hour in our history. It is a novel from the heart and the head, gloomy, tragic and depressing as are the great truths it impresses, yet instinct with moral idealism that makes for a nobler and better civilization. It reflects the spiritual attitude of Mayor Whitlock at the present time and reveals how compellingly the gospel of the Golden Rule has permeated the thought-world of the author.

But better than anything that can be written about Mr. Whitlock's aims, ideas and works, are his own utterances as given in a recent strikingly interesting paper contributed to the Sunday magazine published as a supplement for certain leading American dailies by the Associated Sunday Magazine, Inc., and entitled "The Mayoralty as a Career." In it Mr. Whitlock voices his ideals of municipal government in describing the conditions of the present and in dwelling on the imperative choice that confronts every American statesman of the day,—aye, every citizen who would meet the measure of democracy's demand. It is a very revealing picture of his conception of the duty imposed on the conscience of the awakened patriot who is called by the people to a position of trust; while his own life since the mantle of grave responsibility has fallen upon him shows how he has made his

choice and how faithfully he is striving to reflect the higher moral law which in essay and novel he so graphically and earnestly portrays.

Mr. Whitlock on The City of To-day and of To-morrow.

In describing the city of to-day and the city under an awakened and spiritually quickened civic spirit, the young statesman first paints a picture all too familiar to each of us, and then in antithesis he shows what the city of to-morrow can,—nay, more, what it will be. He shows how Mayor Tom L. Johnson has splendidly blazed the way for the democratic municipality of the future, and that in the same manner his own predecessor, Golden Rule Jones of Toledo, wrought for a juster and more truly democratic order. These men were not masters of the cities. They were too democratic even to seek to or be willing to rule in a feudal sense. On the other hand, they have been true leaders of the awakened civic spirit who have battled for the emancipation of the cities from the spoilers. These "two greatest people's mayors in the history of American municipalities" have been the exponents of "the aspirations of the people," "their representative, their incarnation, their avatar." The works they have done warrant the belief that "their splendid dreams will come true, that their ideals will be realized, and make the American cities the triumph and glory and proof of democracy." "The city they long ago saw in visions will surely come to pass."

The young mayor holds, with Hon. Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland, that the city is the hope of democracy, and with DeTocqueville and all the more thoughtful friends of free institutions who have studied deeply on civic problems, that the shortcomings and evil conditions of the present are due to the lack of democracy instead of being inherent in democracy. They are due to the usurpation by classes and privileged interests of the rightful functions of a democratic republican order.

"The recent awakening of democracy, the recent discovery that what American cities need is not less democracy but more democracy, is the significant fact of the time, and out of it democracy is to justify itself and the dream of Walt. Whitman come true:

"I will make inseparable cities with their arms about each other's necks."

Very vivid is Mayor Whitlock's picture of the city of to-day,—*"a chaotic huddle of hideous buildings,"* a great feverish mart where men swarm and struggle, brag, bluster and battle for personal advantage; a place of turmoil, strife and unhealthy excitement, with two extremes:

"At one end inordinate wealth, and the marble magnificence of the boulevard and avenue, at the other the inordinate poverty and squalor of slums and tenderloin; between them the chaffering and anarchy that causes both, and, so far as the spiritual life, the real life, is concerned, little to choose between them. The vital connection between these two extremes is generally lost sight of."

In the place of this anarchy the practical idealists, the true constructive statesmen, like Mayor Johnson and Mayor Jones, have beheld the city of the future—the truest and most perfect embodiment of the democratic ideal; a place in which to live, in which men, women and children can grow God-ward in peace, security and happiness; a place filled with beautiful parks, comfort stations, bath-houses, swimming-pools, skating-rinks, free schools for science and galleries rich in art, with popular music freely given in the parks and in halls for the education and enjoyment of the people,—in a word, a center where a wise, systematic, whole-hearted program shall be carried forward with an eye single to the development, the general uplift and the happiness, not of an ever-narrowing group of privileged ones, but of all the people. They beheld the city free from the corruption-breeding cesspools that have spread the contagion of graft and dishonesty throughout municipal government,—the privately-owned public utilities; and in the place of the masters and supporters of the machine bosses and the grafting rings they saw the city conducting for the benefit and enrichment of all her children all "those vest enterprises in which the people have common interest—street-cars, lights and power plants, water-works, etc." Furthermore, these prophets of twentieth century democracy who were practical idealists also saw cities, under the guidance of wise and just statesmanship and an awakened civic spirit, becoming marvels of beauty; and what was infinitely more important, they saw "that a city could have this harmony in all its affairs so that taxes could

be equalized, so that there should be not alone a material, physical harmony, but a spiritual harmony as well, and a city raised that should have no slums and tenderloins, that the many should not have to go with too little in order that the few could have too much; so that, in a word, each person in the city could have at least the chance to lead a good, useful, beautiful life and develop and realize his own personality and individuality,—men shook their heads even more stupidly, indeed, angrily. This was because they were without faith, because they had no imagination and little principle left, because their city life had become almost a city death. In the impotent effort to reduce their infidelity and lack of faith to argument, or protest, they would talk of 'anarchy.'"

The faithless ones, the exploiting oppressors and their echoes and tools, not content with shouting "anarchy" as loudly as the Tories of 1776 shouted "treason" when Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock and Adams uttered the new gospel of democracy, united with the cry of "anarchy" the shout of "socialism," though they had never read the great works of Karl Marx and little understood his philosophical theories of government; and they added the word "paternalism," as if we were living in a land where officials were rulers instead of representatives. They persistently cried "paternalism" as if the people were too ignorant to differentiate between a democracy and an autocracy; as if the people did not know that in an American municipality there is "no *pater*, no father," that "there is nothing above them," that "they are supreme, sovereign. They are the city, and when they undertake these enterprises there is no paternalism about it,—no one is doing these things for them; they are doing them for themselves."

The Present Duty of The American Citizen.

In speaking of the duty of the American citizen at the present, Mr. Whitlock's words are worthy of special consideration. He who studies present conditions conscientiously and intelligently, that he may truly serve democracy and worthily discharge the responsibilities of a citizen of a democratic republic, will soon clearly see that "two utterly irreconcilable forces are at variance with each other,—the private interest against the public interest, the greed of the few against the right—no, not of the many, but of the whole,—in a word, Special Privilege against the people."

The representatives of special privilege

have succeeded in procuring grants, franchises and special favors by which they have acquired monopoly rights for street-railways, lighting plants, telephones and kindred public utilities which occupy the streets and highways and upon which the people are largely dependent. The monopoly right enables the beneficiaries of privilege to levy unjust and exorbitant taxes or tariffs on the people, with the result that the few acquire great wealth at the expense of all the people and the morality of the city and her children. Because the people have to have these things, special privilege can levy what taxes it chooses, and experience has proved that whenever a class has power, it becomes oppressive, and nowhere has this been more glaringly apparent than in the extortions of the special privileged classes in this republic.

To further their essentially selfish interests, "private, and morally debasing, Special Privilege goes into politics, constructs political machines, and maintains bosses, promotes the fortunes of political parties, and keeps the public dividend; and out of the proceeds of these privileges it leads lives of luxurious indolence and wanton conspicuous waste. To maintain itself in such life, it stops at nothing: it corrupts legislatures and executives, sees to it that there are elected to the bench judges whose opinions, consciously or unconsciously, and often more innocently than corruptly, coincide with its opinions; and so the laws which grant it these privileges are construed and interpreted in its favor, that is, in the private, instead of the public interest. Identified with Special Privilege will be found organized respectability, and following it a host of parasites who live off it, just as it lives off the people, but are tolerated by it because it recognizes their value, in some measure, in helping it to keep on living off the people: that is, certain newspapers and their reporters, editors, lawyers and orators, spellbinders, sometimes fashionable preachers. Then come a whole retinue of persons who imitate the individual beneficiaries of Special Privilege.

"A formidable, fashionable array, and quite easily identified in any city! It is easy enough to see them and point them out, once the eyes are open—but first the eyes must be open. And yet, as the open, honest eye begins to note spiritual significances, it will behold certain relationships between the mansions and the slums, between plethora and paucity

and discern the incongruity and incompatibility of these great social antitheses. It will discern too a great law silently and inexorably at work, balancing these inequalities, decreeing that so long as Special Privilege denies the joy of living to the many it denies life to itself, that all is not happiness in the palace, that there is a suffering that comes from too much, as there is a suffering that comes from too little. And he who looks with such eyes—washed perhaps by tears—will soon bridge the wide gulf between these classes, will see that there is no hope in war and hatred between them; but that this chasm must be arched by sympathy and love, that neither can rise at the expense of the other, but that they must rise together, in the new consciousness of human unity; that all that is necessary is for those who are on top to be deprived of their advantage over the rest, and to live lives on equal terms with the rest, that all may grow together.

"But he who looks about him with these open eyes must do something else,—he must reach a decision, he must make a choice, he must elect with which of these two he will cast his lot. He can attach himself to Special Privilege, he can conform, either by openly avowing its cause, or drift along with it in a coward's silent acquiescence. By so doing he may purchase physical comfort, but at the cost of spiritual development; he may perhaps gain the whole world, but he must lose his own soul. He may be sure of a full stomach, but he runs the risk of having an empty heart. Or, he may cast in his lot with the people,—he will be sure of a full heart, but he will run the risk of an empty stomach."

The Practical Idealist Who is a True Leader of Civilization.

Mr. Whitlock is a practical idealist, and the practical idealist is the man who most effectively helps civilization upward and onward. Never was it so important as at the present time to emphasize this vital fact, and never were practical idealists so needed as to-day, in the midst of a materialistic commercial age which has striven to place the egoistic ideal and the money measure of success in the place of the ideal of right, justice and brotherhood, when, with hypocritical cant, with high-sounding but empty phrases and with eyes turned heavenward, the pillars of society have ruthlessly ridden down their weaker brothers and rifled their pockets of millions to make a few

millionaires. It has been the custom of the egoists and self-worshipping enemies of social righteousness and civilization to discredit every man with a vision, to sneer down all practical idealists who place the eternal moral verities above the thought of self or the acquisition of personal power or wealth. "They are but visionaries; they are impractical dreamers,"—such has been the cry of late, as it was the cry when Jesus walked the sand-sown highways of Palestine and taught the Golden Rule, and when Paul preached on Mars' Hill or pleaded in Rome for the outblossoming in life of that love which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, is not puffed up, and thinketh no evil. The fact that all the so-called "practical" men, all the materialistic egoists of the age of Jesus and Paul, have long since been forgotten, while the life and words of the Nazarene and the great prophet to the Gentiles are among the most potent influences in civilization to-day, is ignored by the so-called "safe and sane" self-seeking materialists. As it has been in all past times, so it is to-day. Civilization waits on the practical idealist.

Mr. Whitlock's career as mayor of Toledo furnishes an illustration in point. He is denounced by the self-seeking grafters and the privileged interests as a dangerous and impractical visionary. He is sneered at by the extreme radicals as one who holds too confidently to general ideals that, however noble, are vague—too vague, indeed, to be a guide for daily action. But Mr. Whitlock knows that the same criticisms were made against his predecessor; yet as a matter of fact no mayor was more practical or voiced more perfectly the teachings of the Nazarene than did Mr. Jones. And he is following in the footsteps of the Golden Rule chief executive. Is he practical or a visionary? He is one of the most practical men of the day, using the word in a high rather than a sordid sense. One recent episode in his career will well illustrate how he is practically putting into operation the ideals of social justice as chief magistrate of his city. It is given in a recent article by George J. King of Toledo University in the following words:

"Six months ago in Toledo 275 machinists employed at a large manufacturing plant went on strike. A fierce labor battle ensued; arrests were made on both sides, strike breakers and guards and 'Pinkertons' were imported

by the employers; the plant was picketed by the union, hatred was rife, thousands on thousands of dollars were wasted. An agreement was finally reached, only to be broken by the employers, and then the whole plant struck. Over 1,200 workers were idle and furious. Mammoth street parades and mass meetings of union men took place.

"The city was stirred to its depths—especially its financial depths. Business men met in solemn conclave and advocated force: 'Crush the strike'—the State troops if necessary. Bankers joined in this chorus, and advised withdrawing credit from union men. An effort was even made to muzzle the press, and some business men were asked to withdraw their advertising from any paper printing strike news. Every impractical thing possible to think of was suggested by these practical men.

But what had the Mayor been doing all these months?

He had been advocating arbitration of the trouble in a spirit of toleration, love and goodwill. Which was to the business men—another dream. He had been refusing to use the police in the interests of the employers. 'This city is not in the strike-breaking business,' he said to a protesting delegation of employers. 'I will maintain order but I will not take sides, and I warn you if you import any Pinkertons into Toledo I will have them arrested,' and he did. He appealed to the manhood of the union men to avoid violence, and his trust maintained order more potently than a thousand bayonets. Which trust was scoffed

at by the employers as rank anarchy.

"And now, finally, when all the 'safe and sane' were in despair, this dreamer suddenly selected the one right man to help him—a business man with a soul—and these two went to the managers, went to the union men, got them together, appealed to them as men—not as business machines—acted as arbitrators, and in four days the strike was settled, and 1,200 men were at work again.

"There it is in the concrete: The law of love, the law of simple justice—to treat men as you would be treated—to know that hatred breeds hatred—that force is a hurry-up call for more force; a demonstration that the Golden Rule is a workable thing everywhere and all the time; in strikes as well as in Sunday Schools, in business as in the Bible."

A statesman who thus clearly understands the fundamental principles of democratic government, who thus plainly sees the evils that are seeking to destroy popular rule in the interests of privileged classes, and in so doing are corrupting and debasing public and private morals, and who also has the moral courage to stand for justice, morality and the fundamental demands of progressive democracy,—a statesman, in a word, who is a spiritually awakened thinker, a practical idealist, under the domination of the Golden Rule, is the kind of leader the forces of democracy are calling for to-day. He is the leader who voices the message of progress and the dawn, and such a leader is Brand Whitlock.

SOME FACTS ABOUT DIRECT-LEGISLATION THROUGH THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The Oregon Constitutional Amendment.

WE SO frequently receive requests for detailed statements in regard to the Oregon Direct-Legislation Constitutional Amendment that we have decided to publish the amendment in full. It is something that all friends of the initiative and referendum should preserve for easy reference, as the amendment on the whole is admirable. It was endorsed by all parties before it was submitted to the people. It was carried by

a vote of 62,024 in favor of the amendment, and only 5,668 votes were cast against it. Its constitutionality was upheld by the Supreme Court of the state in an able and exhaustive decision. The amendment as adopted is as follows:

"Section I. of Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon, shall be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The legislative authority of

the State shall be vested in a legislative assembly consisting of Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than 8 per cent. of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, either by petition signed by 5 per cent. of the legal voters, or by the legislative assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the State shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by the majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be 'Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon.' This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for Justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

A Brief and Lucid Explanation of The Initiative and Referendum, With Reasons For Their Adoption.

The friends of direct-legislation in Delaware during the recent campaign which resulted in an overwhelming victory in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum, circulated leaflets containing the facts given below, which proved extremely efficacious, as they presented salient points so tersely and clearly that all voters were able to understand just what the initiative and referendum is, why it is called for and what its introduction has achieved where it has been adopted.

"The Initiative.—If the Legislature omit the passage of a needed law a petition may be circulated to secure its enactment, to be signed by five per cent. of the voters (which in Delaware means about 2,100) to the effect that the measure be submitted to a vote by the people. If favored by a majority it becomes a law. Experience shows that the initiative is rarely used, as the Legislature generally acts on suggestion, if they think that it is such that the people would vote yes.

"The Referendum.—Under the referendum each law which passes the Legislature shall not take effect for a certain time. If during this time five per cent. of the voters petition for a referendum vote the law goes to a vote by the people. If voted against by a majority it becomes void.

"At the coming election each voter will have the first opportunity he has ever had to vote directly on public policy.

"Besides the regular ballot there will be a separate ballot for the principle of the Initiative and Referendum.

"The Initiative and Referendum gives the people a voice in their own affairs without interfering with our present system of representative government.

"It is the most perfect carrying out of the principle enunciated by Abraham Lincoln of government of the people, by the people, for the people.

"People all over the world are beginning to awaken to the fact that law-making controls money-making.

"Remember that this is a practical question of dollars and cents. If the people do not look after the law-making they must pay the expenses of bad government, under which fewer and fewer people can make a good living.

"Either look after the law-making or pay more to live."

Another leaflet that is admirable for general distribution has been recently issued by the New York Referendum League. It is entitled "The Initiative and Referendum: What It Is and What It Will Do," and reads as follows:

"WHAT IT IS:

"The Initiative. The power of the people to directly secure legislation. A certain percentage of the voters, can, by petition, compel the submitting of any new or pending legislation to all voters.

"The Referendum. The power of the people to ratify or reject legislation at the polls. Upon demand of a certain number of voters in the district or political divisions affected, any measure passed by the law-making body must be submitted to a direct vote of the whole people.

"WHAT IT WILL DO:

(The following claims are based upon twenty years' experience in Switzerland, four years in South Dakota and Oregon and in many municipalities.)

"It Will:

"Render resort to itself seldom, and possibly, never necessary.

"Because, questionable legislation is less likely to be attempted or hazarded.

"Reduce public abuses to a minimum.

"Because, its mere existence, and not necessarily its existence, will act as a deterrent.

"Simplify laws, rendering them less likely to be misunderstood.

"Because, legislators will use the simplest language possible, lest their measures be referred and vetoed.

"Encounter no sound or tenable objection.

"Because it has, in experience, stood every test.

"Obviate the necessity for 'THIRD PARTY,' or independent movements.

"Because it can better promote measures and effect reforms.

"Open the shortest road to desirable reforms.

"Because local option, by its means, is easily secured.

"Abolish profligacy, public plundering, and politics as a business.

"Because the people can employ preventive means.

"Suppress corruption and vicious lobbying.

"Because bribe-givers will not take the chances involved.

"End machine politics and boss rule.

"Because legislators will be directly responsible to the people.

"Enlist the support of patriotic and good men of all parties.

"Because 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people' is what all such men desire.

"Promote the study of public questions.

"Because voters will feel that they are directly concerned in law-making.

"Elevate the tone of legislative bodies.

"Because high minded men will displace the sordid grafters.

"Finally, make the United States, in every sense, the most splendid country in the world.

"Because it will correct the evils which prevent an ideal civilization.

Leaflets containing facts similar to the above should be freely distributed in every campaign for the people's rule.

Some Distinguished Opinions in Favor of The Initiative and Referendum.

It is sometimes asked whether prominent thinkers favor direct-legislation. In reply we would say that it would require more space than an issue of *THE ARENA* to give the arguments for direct-legislation that have been advanced by many of our greatest and ablest economists, statesmen and publicists. Below we give a few brief excerpts from characteristic utterances:

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

"I believe in the principle involved in the Initiative and Referendum and have no doubt that it is a growing reform. No one who trusts the people can object to the submission of a question to them when a reasonable number of people ask for it. The recent election returns indicate that it is stronger than any party, for it has been adopted several times by more votes than either party polled." (Extract from a letter, Dec. 27, 1906.)

HON. JOHN WANAMAKER.

"I heartily approve of giving the people a veto on corrupt legislation. The movement to secure for the people a more direct and

immediate control over legislation shall have my support. I trust it will receive the thoughtful attention of all who would improve our political and industrial conditions."

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

"Direct-legislation is essential to self-government in complex communities—a necessary element in true democracy. It and it only can destroy the private monopoly of legislative power and establish public-ownership of the government. The fundamental questions are: 'Shall the people rule or be ruled? Shall they own the government, or be owned by it? Shall they control legislation, or merely select persons to control it? Shall the laws passed and put in force be what the people want, or what the politicians and monopolists want?' The referendum answers these questions in favor of the people, and it is the only thing that can answer them that way. . . . It will perfect the representative system by eliminating serious misrepresentation."

NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, D.D.

"I am a firm believer in the initiative and referendum and I will help this reform in every way I can."

CHARLES N. HERREID,

Republican Governor of South Dakota.

"Since the referendum has been a part of our Constitution, we have no charter-mongers or railroad speculators, no wildcat schemes submitted to our legislature. And hence there is no necessity for recourse to the referendum."

Our readers will remember the strong plea in favor of direct-legislation made by Governor Folk in his recent message to the Legislature of Missouri, and which we reproduced in our March issue.

These typical opinions are sufficient to indicate the attitude of eminent statesmen, economists and publicists who are in no way interested in maintaining boss rule, partisan machine government and the furtherance of the interests of privileged classes.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AT NEW YORK.

The Most Commanding Peace Assembly That America Has Witnessed.

THE WEEK commencing Sunday, April 14th, witnessed the assembling of one of the most important and significant congresses that has ever gathered in the New World. Here were many of the most illustrious genuine friends of international arbitration and world peace from the Old World and the New, and there were present not a few spokesmen of those who wish to pose as advocates of peace but who at heart are believers in "the big stick" and war. These latter indulged in the same vicious and sophistical pleas that the advocates of evil ever advance when they wish to escape the censure of the truly enlightened and civilized and yet desire to justify that which is essentially savage and degrading. But this forced seeming approval of the great civilization-wide peace movement is one of the most significant illustrations of the power of this movement throughout the world. The congress brought together men of many lands and races and representatives

of almost all occidental beliefs and ideals. Many of the addresses were as practical as they were noble, while some, of course, were as halting and short-sighted as the idealless imaginations of the materialists who uttered them. But the general spirit and temper of the assembly was in favor of a vigorous step by step program, with international arbitration and the reduction of armaments as the ideal toward which to strive.

Resolutions Adopted.

The resolutions adopted by the congress which refer to the great movement were admirable, and though by many they will be considered as asking for too little, we incline to believe the "make haste slowly" program is the wisest at the present stage of this world movement, which must depend for its success on the compulsion of an educated international conscience. Any extreme demands at this stage would be doomed to defeat and would tend to set back the movement; but if anything like the program outlined in the follow-

ing resolutions should be carried out at The Hague gathering, a very great and substantial advance will be registered. Indeed, it is hardly to be hoped that the plea for limiting armaments will go further than being seriously and ably presented before the international bar of reason and conscience. The resolutions adopted are as follows:

"Resolved, by the National Arbitration and Peace Congress, held in New York city, April 14 to 17, 1907:

"That the government of the United States be requested, through its representative to the second Hague Conference, to urge upon that body the formation of a more permanent and more comprehensive international union for the purpose of insuring the efficient coöperation of the nations in the development and application of international law and the maintenance of the peace of the world;

"That to this end it is the judgment of this conference that the governments should providethat the Hague conference shall hereafter be a permanent institution, with representatives from all the nations, meeting periodically for the regular and systematic consideration of the international problems constantly arising in the intercourse of the nations;

"That a general treaty of arbitration for ratification by all the nations should be drafted by the coming conference, providing for the reference to The Hague court of international disputes which may hereafter arise which cannot be adjusted by diplomacy;

"That the congress records its indorsement of the resolution adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union at its conference in London last July, that in case of disputes arising between nations which it may not be possible to embrace within the terms of an arbitration convention, the disputing parties, before resorting to force shall always invoke the services of an international commission of inquiry or the mediation of one or more friendly powers;

"That our government be requested to urge upon the coming Hague conference the adoption of the proposition, long advocated by our country to extend to private property at sea the same immunity from capture in war as now shelters private property on land;

"That the time has arrived for decided action toward the limitation of the burdens of armament, which have enormously increased since 1890, and the government of the United States is respectfully requested

and urged to instruct its delegates to the coming Hague conference to support with the full weight of our national influence the proposition of the British government, as announced by the prime minister, to have, if possible, the subject of armaments considered by the conference."

There are also the three following specific things which the International Peace Conference hopes to see brought up for consideration at The Hague:

"1. In case of the failure of arbitration between nations, a period of 30 days shall be allowed for use of the peace-making provisions of the convention; and if any power refuses to agree to this, that nation shall be declared to be an offender against international law, an enemy of the human race, to which none of the signatory powers of the new convention shall loan a single penny to carry on a war so begun; and that all goods of such an offender shall become, *ipso facto*, contraband of war and liable to be seized as such.

"2. That the signatory powers of the convention at The Hague agree to finance an earnest effort looking forward to international peace by agreeing (say) to contribute one cent for every \$10 hitherto appropriated for purposes of armaments and army and navy expenses and supplies. The money thus raised to be expended in efforts to make both parties to an international argument better acquainted with the points of view, the rights and contentions of the other, and, if necessary, to financing respective commissions from either country to visit the other and present their respective sides of the case.

"3. A 'peace jury' (say) of 12 representative citizens—nine men and three women—chosen by voice of their nation to visit The Hague during the session of the conference there and, through a spokesman chosen from their number, place before the international delegates the hopes, the wishes and the desires of the people whom they represent. Not to interfere with the rights and privileges of the international delegates appointed from their respective countries, but to back them up in their contentions, and, incidentally, to see that said delegates faithfully carry out the views and wishes of the great bulk of the nation whose mouthpieces they are temporarily."

The congress was a splendid success and cannot fail to make for civilization. Mr.

Carnegie's reply to objections, in summing up some of the results of the congress, was most admirable and pregnant with telling points which answered the objections of Mr. Roosevelt and some pretended friends of peace who are ever crying for an increase in armaments. Mr. Carnegie said:

"Our Peace Conference has brought three objections clearly before us:

"First—Nations cannot submit all questions to arbitration.

"Answer—Six of them have recently done so by treaty—Denmark and the Netherlands, Chile and Argentina, Norway and Sweden. . . . So much for the claims that nations cannot submit all questions. They have done it.

"Second—Justice is higher than peace.

"Answer—The first principle of natural justice forbids men to be judges when they are parties to the issue. All law rests upon this throughout the civilized world. Were a judge known to sit upon a case in which he was secretly interested, he would be dishonored and expelled from his high office.

"If an individual refused to submit his dispute with a neighbor to disinterested parties (arbiters or judges) and insisted upon being his own judge, he would violate the first principle of justice. If he resorted to force in defense of his right to judge, he would be dishonored as a breaker of the law.

"Thus Peace with Justice is secured through arbitration, either by Court or by Tribunal, never by one of the parties sitting as judge in his own cause.

"Nations being only aggregates of individuals, they will not reach Justice in their judgments until the same rule holds good, viz., that they, like individuals, shall not sit as judges in their own causes. What is unjust for individuals is unjust for nations. Justice is Justice, unchangeable, and should hold universal sway over all men and over all nations.

"Third—It is neither peace nor justice, but righteousness that exalteth a nation.

"Answer—Righteousness is simply doing what is right. What is just is always right; what is unjust, always wrong. It being the first principle of justice that men shall not be judges in their own causes, to refuse to submit to judge or arbitrate is unjust, hence not right, for the essence of righteousness is justice. Therefore men who place justice or righteousness above peace practically proclaim, as it appears to me, that they will commit injustice and discard righteousness by constituting themselves sole judges of their own cause in violation of law, justice and right.

"Civilized man has reached the conclusion that he meets the claims of Justice and of Right only by upholding the present reign of law. Our pressing duty is to extend its benignant reign to combinations of men called Nations. What is right for each individual must be right for the nation. This union of Law and Justice, insuring 'peace and goodwill' through disinterested tribunals, is 'righteousness which exalteth a nation.' The demand that interested parties shall sit in judgment is the 'wickedness that degrades a nation.'"

THE OPPOSITION OF THE BOSS AND THE CORPORATE AGENCIES TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Real Rulers of The Commonwealth.

ON PREVIOUS occasions we have called the attention of our readers to the baleful mastership of the Lodge-Crane political machine over its puppets in the legislature of Massachusetts, and how that machine, by its sympathetic response to the demands of great corporate interests, thwarts the public weal in the most shameful manner. Especially marked has been the sinister and evil

influence in its subtle attack on the very genius of democratic republican government. It has striven in every way possible to make the puppets of the Lodge-Crane corporation machine the masters of the people instead of the agents of the electorate. When rich corporation interests have run counter to the interests and presumed wishes of the commonwealth, the puppets of the machine and its master spirits have time and again cast their

influence, not in favor of the people, but against them.

Now these political misrepresentatives would not have dared to vote or act as they did, were it not that they knew the machine to be the real master of Massachusetts; that it holds the power of political life and death, which theoretically is lodged with the people; and that the will of the corporations is more potent than the wish of the electorate with the political bosses who are the real governors of the state.

Two instances of this character will serve to illustrate the fact.

Typical Illustrations Showing How The People's Welfare is Subordinated to Corporate Interests.

When the great paper manufacturer of Massachusetts, whose spell over the Massachusetts press has often occasioned wonder on the part of the casual observer, was governor of the state, the Boston and Albany lease was desired on the part of the New York Central Railroad. There was a widespread feeling, and, as future events have amply demonstrated, a well-grounded fear, that the interests of Massachusetts and the accommodation of the traveling public along the line of the road in question were not being properly safeguarded; and one Boston paper made a strenuous protest, demanding that the governor should follow the example which his public-spirited predecessor, Governor Wolcott, had set, and let the interested voters express their wish on the question. It was pointed out that when the Boston Elevated Railroad wanted to relay the tracks on Tremont street, the machine-made legislature was as complaisant as usual to the great corporation's demand, and the press was equally solicitous that the people of Boston should not have the chance to thwart the desires of the street-railway corporation. But Governor Wolcott refused to sign the bill granting the relaying of the tracks, without the referendum clause was attached, and the citizens of Boston thus had the opportunity to register a majority of more than 26,000 votes against the proposal which the legislature and the Boston daily press strove to force upon them in the interests of the Boston Elevated Railway Company.

When the proposed lease of the Boston and Albany Railroad came up, the Boston *Traveler*, after exposing the objectionable and

dangerous features of the proposed lease, and the need of better terms and guarantees, insisted that Governor Crane should do as Governor Wolcott had done, and refuse to sign the measure for the lease unless a referendum clause was attached giving the citizens of Massachusetts a chance to vote on the acceptance or rejection of the proposed law. Had the measure been really in the interests of the people instead of palpably in the interests of the railroad corporation, there would have been little or no doubt but what the measure would have been ratified. Indeed, there is little reason to doubt but what the terms which the railroad offered would have been far more favorable to the state, had there been any danger of the people being allowed to vote on the question. But this reasonable, just, unobjectionable and purely democratic demand was, it is needless to say, highly objectionable to the New York Central Railroad Company, and Governor Crane refused to demand the referendum. Consequently the lease such as the foreign railway corporation desired was granted, and the shameful and inadequate service that has followed has shown the fearful cost to the people of this refusal on the part of the Governor to allow them to protect their interests against corporate greed. This refusal on the part of Governor Crane to be loyal to the fundamental principles of popular government, this placing of the interests of a great and wealthy foreign corporation before the probable wishes of the voters of the state, is as typical as it is a striking example of how the politicians whom the corporation press extoll as "safe and sane" men, sacrifice the interests of those whose servants they theoretically are and strike at popular government in its vital organs.

An equally typical instance of how the Lodge-Crane corporation machine refused to permit the people even the opportunity of expressing their wishes on a question involving the financial interests of every household, is found in the refusal by the legislature of the widely expressed wish and demand that the people be allowed to vote on the question of adopting an amendment that would permit any city or town, when its citizens desired to do so, to establish a municipal coal yard, and thus protect the people from the extortions so brazenly practiced by the coal club of Massachusetts. During the great coal strike the people of this common-

wealth were the victims of two bands of plunderers—the coal trust and the coal club, or combination of home dealers, with the result that they had to pay from \$10 to \$18 a ton for their coal—more, as was clearly shown by the investigation, than a reasonable advance on the extortion charged by the coal trust. To provide against such criminal exactions as were practiced, it was proposed that municipal coal yards be established, so that a suffering people could gain relief from the irresponsible tax-gatherers and extortioners. But then it was found that the cities could not give relief without a constitutional amendment, and a movement was at once started to have such an amendment submitted to the electorate. The legislature granted a hearing, and such was the representative character of the petitioners throughout the state that there could be no doubt of the general wish on the part of the citizens. Moreover, it will be noted that the request was for the submission of the question to the people. If the people did not desire to have this permission given to towns and cities, all they would have to do was to vote, No, and then, in the case of its adoption, should a portion of the people of any city or town desire a municipal yard, it would still have to be voted upon and accepted by the majority of the electorate of the municipality before such an order could be established.

The passage of the proposed amendment could and would have served a very valuable purpose to the pockets of the millions of Massachusetts, even if no town had installed a municipal yard, for it would have given every community a weapon by which the people could have protected themselves from the extortions of the tax-farming coal monopolists. Therefore the coal club, or the home monopoly, fought it, and therefore the Lodge Republican machine was against it, and the real masters of the legislature had their way. The legislature refused to let the people even vote on the question whether or not they wished to be placed in a position where they could protect themselves from the extortions of one of the most soulless and greedy monopolies that had ever cursed the state. This illustration, very typical in character, shows how undemocratic and reactionary has been the government of Massachusetts since the machine, responsive to bosses Lodge and Crane and the corporations, has been the real master of the state.

This war against popular government and the attempt to establish the idea of the master-ship of the boss and the tools of the machine in the legislature in the place of the idea of officers being the agents of the people; this systematic war to establish a condition as inimical to the fundamentals of a democratic republic as it is in harmony with the theories of class-rule, against which the epoch of democracy was a civilization-wide protest, has been led by Senator Lodge. He has opposed the legitimate efforts of the people to protect themselves from being robbed, oppressed and exploited by the privileged interests. Moreover, he, no less than the corporations and the masters of the machine has openly and brazenly struck at the vitals of free government in the recent determined attempt to prevent the passage of even a public-opinion bill. No New England statesman of modern times has had the hardihood to attack the constitutional provisions vital to free government, which were adopted by the fathers of this great commonwealth, as has Senator Lodge.

The framers of the constitution of Massachusetts were sincere friends of popular government. They were statesmen in the true sense of the word. They placed the interests of the people before the interests of any privileged class. Men like John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Sullivan and James Otis, recognized and insisted on recognizing that the people were the masters and that it was right and proper that they, or any other of the popular representatives, should understand that they were merely the agents of the people who were to receive their instructions from the people. Yet in the beginning of the twentieth century the boss of Massachusetts comes to the legislature and insists that the voters of Massachusetts shall not even be permitted the poor privilege of petitioning the legislature to pass measures which are desired by the electorate. We say the poor privilege, because the public-opinion bill does not make it mandatory, as it should do, upon the legislators to obey the will of the people. Boss Lodge, who is perfectly in accord with the desires of the great corporations and privileged interests, actively and openly, with the cunning, the alarmist cries and the sophistry of the special-pleader, strove to prevent the people from having the opportunity to express their wishes on four vital questions at each general election.

The action of Senator Lodge has called forth an admirable and illuminating editorial in the *Boston American*, which so clearly uncovers the motives of the bosses everywhere that we reproduce it for the use of friends of free institutions in the great conflict that is on between republican government and class-rule:

"United States Senator Lodge honored the Massachusetts State House with his presence last week. It was said that he went there to whip the Republican Senators and Representatives into line to kill the Public-Opinion bill.

"In other words, Lodge, the boss, was exerting his power to prevent the people of the state from having a chance to express their opinions by ballot on public questions.

"Lodge, like all other bosses, fears the voice of the people.

"He believes that the Public-Opinion bill is a step toward the old conditions in Massachusetts when the voters had the power not only to express their opinions by ballot, but also to instruct their representatives how to vote.

"In those days, there were no bosses like Lodge.

"In those days the people ruled.

"Those were the days shortly after the Declaration of Independence was signed, when men like John Hancock, Sam. Adams, James Sullivan, James Otis, Thomas Cushing and Caleb Davis were representatives of the people and received instructions from the people.

"No wonder Lodge fights to prevent the voice of the people from being heard again.

"He knows that if the voters had the power to express their opinions by ballot now they would vote in favor of the election of United States Senators by the people.

"He knows, too, that if Senators were elected by the people, instead of by a corporation-guided and boss-ruled Legislature, he, Lodge, could not go back to Washington.

Harvey N. Shepard on The Public Opinion Bill.

In Massachusetts there have been a number of public-spirited men who have resented and fought against all forms of despotism, oppression, corruption and injustice. In recent years this class has resolutely refused to bow the knee to boss-rule or corporation greed, and in every battle between the people and

reactionary class interests these men have ranged themselves on the side of popular government. This fact has been encouragingly evidenced in the case of the public-opinion bill. Among the admirable protests against the reactionary campaign of misrepresentation is the following letter, published in the *Boston Herald*, from Harvey N. Shepard, a prominent citizen of the commonwealth:

"The bitterness of the opposition to the public-opinion bill and the gross misrepresentation of its provisions may well cause us to ask if we really believe in a government by the people. This bill simply provides that upon the petition of 5,000 voters the people may express their opinion by ballot at a regular state election upon not over four questions of public policy. That is all. It is not the enactment of a law by ballot, it is merely to learn, for the consideration of the Legislature, what the people think upon a measure of public interest.

"The Legislature is under no obligation to follow this expression, and is at entire liberty to give to it only such weight as it deserves. If only a few of the people favor a measure or take enough interest to vote upon it, then no one could urge in favor of it that the people really want it; but if the vote be large then the members of the Legislature have learned, what every fair and candid man who believes in our institutions must wish to learn, namely, what the people want. And yet this bill is denounced as revolutionary and destructive of our institutions, and its advocates are called demagogues and Socialists.

"Our commonwealth rests upon the principle that all authority and power abide in the people. In early days, when the people were few in number and compact in residence, they came together and enacted their own laws, as they do to-day in our town meetings. When, because of number and widely scattered habitations, this became impracticable, they chose their representatives to enact laws. Nevertheless, the men who are chosen remain the agents and servants of the people. And, as their agents, it is right and proper that their principals should express their wishes, and a loyal agent ought always to wish to know what these are.

"Sometimes, as in city elections, we express our opinion upon a matter of public policy, as for instance, whether licenses shall be

given for the sale of liquors. This bill is merely an extension in the same direction, so that we may express an opinion upon a few other measures of public policy.

"If there be any demagogism or socialism in this, then popular government itself is demagogism and socialism. Our fathers, who founded our institutions and framed the Constitution under which we live surely may be supposed to know whether the principle embodied in this bill is subversive of representative government. They established this government, and, in the very charter, declared the right of the people to instruct their representatives. For several years after the adoption of the Constitution, and for more than a century before it, the people of Boston instructed their representatives. The men who did this were Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, James Sullivan, Governors of the Commonwealth; Rufus King, John Hancock, president of the convention which framed our constitution, and John Adams, President of the United States.

"Who will dare to say that these men were demagogues and subverters of representative government?

"Article 19 of the bill of rights of our Constitution declares the right of the people to instruct their representatives. When it was adopted it was possible for the people to meet together and give such instructions. Such a course now is impossible; and this bill substitutes a possible method for one which our growth in population has made impossible. Wherein then is it subversive of representative government? A bill which seeks to ascertain the will of the people cannot be subversive of any representative government which pretends to represent the will of the people. It must be some other kind of representative government, representative not of the people, but of some self-assumed superior class.

"If a man does not believe in a government by the people, if the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of our commonwealth are false, then such a man is consistent in his opposition to this bill. It is because we do believe in popular government, and not in despotism, and do believe in the wisdom and integrity of the people, that we ask for this bill. And it is because of their abiding faith in the people that men like President Eliot, for instance, one of the many eminent vice-presidents of the Public Opinion League, give to it their support."

At the present writing the fate of the bill is in doubt, and in Massachusetts usually the boss and the corporations have a way of killing even the most simple measures, if those measures promise to give the people more power in directing their government and in protecting themselves against the outrageous extortions of the irresponsible tax-farming corporations. But whether Boss Lodge and the corporations triumph this year or not, the movement for direct-legislation is going forward in Massachusetts as elsewhere. It is bound to triumph as it has triumphed in Oregon, in Nevada, in South Dakota, in Montana, and as it will shortly triumph in Maine, Missouri and Oklahoma. In the first two states the recent legislatures have voted to submit constitutional amendments. In Oklahoma the constitution framers have embedded direct-legislation in the constitution of the new state.

The people are at last awakening to the supreme peril that confronts free government through the steady and determined aggressions of arrogant and corrupt corporations and privileged classes that, not content with systematic evasion of law and corruption of the streams of political life in all branches of government, are now seeking to subvert popular rule and deny to the people mastership of their own agents and servants.

LEADING CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS DENOUNCE MACHINE RULE AND THE SECRET INFLUENCES THAT CONTROL AND DEBAUCH THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.

An Historic Meeting in an Historic Hall.

A FITTING answer to the machinations of Mr. Lodge, his machine and the secret interests that seek privileges in order to exploit the people, was given in Faneuil Hall, Massachusetts' famous Cradle of Liberty, on April 25th, at a noon-day mass-meeting to protest against the reactionary machine and corporation assault on free institutions. The various distinguished speakers riddled the flimsy and amazing sophistry of the unrepublican opposition. Over the heads of the score or more of prominent thinkers who occupied the platform were several large placards, one containing a list of the years, over fifty in all, when the people had instructed their representatives. Another contained Section 9 of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, which the peoples' representatives adopted by a vote of over 250 to 1, and which sets forth as a fundamental fact that "the people have the right to give instruction to their representatives." Another placard bore a quotation from Boston's instruction in 1783 to the representatives who drafted the Constitution in 1784, which declared it to be "our inalienable right to communicate to you our sentiments, and when we shall judge it necessary or convenient, to give you our instructions on any special matter." The chairman of the committee who drafted this report was Samuel Adams, and among the leading members of the committee were some of the foremost statesmen of the Massachusetts of the day.

The meeting was opened by the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., president of the Public-Opinion League, with a telling speech that rang true at every point. The most distinguished of the speakers was President Charles Eliot of Harvard University.

President Eliot's Masterly Address.

Seldom has Faneuil Hall rung with the popular applause elicited by an abler or more scholarly address than was delivered by the President of Harvard University. We have in several instances had occasion to criticize

President Eliot's views on social and economic problems, and we have felt at times that the subtle spell of a reactionary pseudo-conservatism was being thrown over the head of our great university. It was with especial pleasure, therefore, that we listened to his ringing words in behalf of popular government and his strong and incisive characterization of the sinister secret influences that pervade American politics, and the degrading despotism of the political machine.

We are all familiar with the sneering manner in which the bosses, whether municipal or state, from the great Tweed down to the present time, characterize the men of conscience and high ideals who oppose corrupt practices and methods which are inimical and destructive to free government. We know full well what to expect when a boss comes face to face with the arguments of a great educator, reformer or thinker under the compulsion of moral idealism. He will seek to discredit his critic by characterizing him as academic, as a visionary, as an impractical dreamer or a dangerous radical who is assailing the "safe and sane" methods that prevail; and he will tell you that the boss is a practical man, or he may say something like the following: "You and I understand each other. We are both 'practical men.'"

President Eliot, with a genial smile very pleasing to see, opened his remarks by frankly admitting that he was an academician, a man who held theories; but he explained that in this instance his theories were based on a half-century of close observation.

"This is a practical question and I am not what would be considered perhaps a practical man. I am an out and out academic person; and the word academic is a word of reproach with men of politics and industries. But an academician or a scientist may hold theories; and the theory which I hold is a good theory, based on careful observation of American political life for the past fifty years, and on a pretty good memory of the facts thus observed. . . . I am sure that in principle this is a

bill to bring about an open public interest in legislation."

With the clear vision and the precision of a skilled surgeon who knows the nature of a disease and with unerring skill cuts down to the eating sore and reveals the poison that is draining the vitality of its victim, President Eliot laid bare the taproot of present political corruption and in so doing revealed the real reason why the political boss, and the secret interests or corrupt powers that are poisoning our political life are opposing the attempt of the people to regain their control of government and compel their representatives to be faithful to them instead of betrayers of their trust in the interests of corporate demands.

The Formidable Development of The Money Power in American Politics.

"Now what," asked President Eliot, "has been the crying evil in American politics in the past forty years? It has been secret influence. That is the great crying evil concerning legislative and administrative bodies.

"We sometimes think that we have a great security for the expression of public opinion through the public press. Does that work freely to-day? We all of us know that the public press is subject to innumerable bad secret influences. How about our legislative bodies? Do we not all know what the money power over legislators is and how it is exercised?

"In secret, by the personal efforts of interested men to procure legislation which will subserve their interests or to prevent legislation which they believe will damage their interests.

"The development of the money power in this country has been tremendous, within my clear remembrance. How about working committees of our public bodies? Committee work is open to an unusual public influence of opinion through hearings. It is all the time subject to private secret influences of interested bodies, highly organized, more and more highly organized as we go on, bringing secret pressure to bear on the committees themselves, electing members of legislatures through secret influences, organizing legislatures and committees of legislatures, that they may serve the private influences involved.

"These things are perfectly well known. Every intelligent American citizen knows how these private secret influences are brought to bear on American legislators. They tell us that the present bill degrades senators and representatives, because it looks forward to

the expression of thousands and perhaps millions of voters giving voice at the general election to their views on public matters. Is that the way in which American legislators are degraded these days?

"No. They never are, and never have been. Where American legislators are degraded in these days is by submission to machines.

The Blight of The Political Machine.

"They tell us that the present bill degrades our representatives and senators because it gives their constituents a right and an opportunity to give voice to their opinions on election day.

"Gentlemen, they are degraded already by their submission to a machine. A political machine is a private organization for the benefit of a body of men or of an individual. It gets money, a deal of money, for secret uses and dispenses it secretly. Now what has been the great crying evil in American political life in the past 40 years? It has been secret influence—that influence that has been used darkly concerning important legislation and great problems.

"We all know that the public press is subject to secret evil influences. Do we not all know how the money power is exercised in the legislature by men determined to foster their own interests by the use of this money, or to retard or prevent legislation inimical to those selfish interests?

"The development of the money power in this country has been most formidable. Not only in the legislature itself, but in the committee rooms, where important measures are first considered, is this money power secretly at work. These things are perfectly well-known to every intelligent American citizen."

True Conservatism Defined.

President Eliot is the last man in America who can be called a radical or a revolutionary, and for this reason it was especially fortunate that he devoted some time to the cry of the boss and the agents and tools of the secret interests, that the Public-Opinion bill was a radical and revolutionary measure. He said that true conservatism had already been splendidly defined in the Bible.

"There is an excellent definition, of true conservatism, the best I have ever been able to find, in the epistles of St. Paul. This definition is: 'Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good.' That is just it—hold

fast to things that are good; but to hold fast to the machines, as to old junk, to hold fast to the obsolete methods of government, is not true conservatism."

A Plea For Democracy.

President Eliot next handled in an admirable manner the alarmist cry raised by the unscrupulous political bosses and the corrupt privileged interests that seek special privileges, that the Public-Opinion bill is revolutionary. On this point he said:

"And now fellow-citizens, we hear a great and familiar cry—'this is a revolutionary measure, this is a radical measure, this is a socialistic, an anarchistic measure. Let the conservative people of the Commonwealth beware!'"

"That, fellow-citizens, is the most fundamental of all doubts concerning the working of a democracy. Has America been revolutionary in times past? Is not a free democracy the most conservative government in the world?"

"Because it is builded first on public justice, then on public freedom, then on the diffusion of opportunity and all other evidences of public well-being. That is the reason why a free government is the most conservative government in the world."

"Which is the most conservative, Russia or the United States? Which is the most socialistic, anarchistic—Russia or the United States? Which was the most conservative, the French monarchy or the French revolution? Verily it was the revolution which was the most conservative of great public interests."

Edwin D. Mead's Plea For Direct Legislation.

Among the other able speeches delivered from the platform of Faneuil Hall at this meeting the two that call for special notice were delivered by Edwin D. Mead, the well-known author and publicist, and Representative Luce, the able young Republican leader in the Massachusetts House. Representative Luce has championed the 'Public-Opinion bill and measured swords with Boss Lodge. His address at Faneuil Hall was especially able and statesmanlike. From it we are led to believe that he aspires to reflect the rising tide of genuine democracy and we shall not be surprised if he becomes at no distant day a power in the national capital, for the forces of popular government are bound from now

on to become more potent and commanding in city, state and nation.

Space renders it impossible for us to notice his speech at length, and, indeed, to do more than quote a few pregnant paragraphs from Mr. Mead's exceptionally masterly discussion. The latter gentleman in his address said:

"Are you afraid of direct-legislation? Then you are afraid of democracy. If we believe in democracy, then we ought to welcome everything that enlists and trains the people, that throws responsibility upon them and makes them active, and not passive. . . . Ultimate democracy will be vastly more like primitive democracy, like the Swiss commune and the New England town meeting, than any intervening form. Representative government is a bridge from one to the other. More and more, as democracies grow wise, will they delegate detailed activity to men peculiarly fit for it, and give them larger power, with no need of farther security for its proper exercise than the next election. But more and more on questions of public policy will democracies speak directly. That they have not been able to do so in large ways is simply because the conveniences for it have not until now existed. No theory of democracy is so vicious as the theory that the people generally are foolish and incompetent, and that their legislature is boiled-down wisdom and ought to be kept as free as possible from popular influence. The history of democracy shows that legislatures never have so strong and truly independent men as when the people behind are active and aroused, vigorously declaring their convictions and desires to their representatives."

"Direct-legislation is going to increase steadily and rapidly."

"The time will come when all the people of this republic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will vote at morning on a single great question of public policy—not mixed up, as now, with half a dozen other questions—and know at evening the result. The gain will be immense. It would have been an immense gain if, in the last half dozen years, we could have had the clear, authoritative verdict of our whole people on the Philippine issue, or the big navy issue, or the tariff issue—which we never yet have had because these have always been smothered in other issues."

REV. R. J. CAMPBELL ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL for April opens with one of the most profoundly thoughtful and significant religious discussions that has appeared in years. It is from the pen of Rev. R. J. Campbell, A.M., the pastor of the City Temple of London and one of the master spirits of the New Theology movement that has been so deeply stirring the free evangelical churches of Great Britain during recent months.

In this discussion the brilliant young clergyman explains what is aimed at by those who head the New Theology movement and who are striving to reawaken the old moral or spiritual enthusiasm that made the primitive church irresistible,—“a movement which depends upon no one personality and no one church,” but is rather “a spiritual quickening, a renewal of life and energy with the various Christian communions and even beyond them.” This movement is striving to unify and harmonize warring forces that have at heart truth, justice and righteousness. Its one great word, says our author, “is unity, the unity of the individual with the race, and of the race with God.” And it welcomes science as an aid and ally instead of striving to discredit its discoveries and revelations.

“Religion is the soul’s response to the universe, and science is only the mind trying to understand the universe. . . . A theology in conflict with the scientific method is therefore, in the nature of things an inadequate expression of religious experience, and even a clog upon it. The rehabilitation of religious faith which is now upon us involves a recognition of the sacredness of science.”

On nothing is the New Theology movement more insistent than on its demand that the social idealism of Jesus shall again be exalted to a foremost place as a vital, living, moving factor in religious life and experience. It demands that the doctrine of human brotherhood shall be accepted, acted upon and lived up to. Under this division of the discussion Mr. Campbell’s words are as bold and thoughtful as they are strikingly exceptional, when we consider that the author is one of the most

popular Non-conformist evangelical clergymen of London.

“It is an extraordinary thing,” observes Mr. Campbell, “that socialism should ever, in any of its manifestations, have become materialistic, and the fact that it should have done so is an indictment of the churches. Whence springs the deep-seated hostility of so many of the representatives of labor to the churches? It can only be from the fact that organized religion has, in the immediate past, lost sight of its own fundamental, the divineness of man. Practical materialism in the churches has led to theoretical materialism in the masses. If the *ecclesia* of Jesus had all along been proclaiming, both by precept and example, the ideal of universal brotherhood and the possibility of realizing the kingdom of God on earth, the unprivileged could never have looked for any other leader. But suspicion and mistrust have been born of the unfaithfulness of Christians to their own first principle. . . . The obvious, glaring thing in the world of human affairs to-day is that the Church has been trying too long to save men from suffering in a world to come, and has been only partially concerned about the root-causes of suffering in this. . . . The man at the bottom of the social ladder sees this with the clearness born of adversity, and hates what he thinks to be the insincerity of organized religion. Then, too, the fact is beyond dispute that the movement toward social emancipation is now international, and recognizes itself to be such. It is far ahead of the churches in this respect; in fact, it is the true church, the organization which is doing the work the churches ought to be doing, realizing the kingdom of God. The socialist workman in Philadelphia feels himself nearer to the workman in Berlin than he does to the plutocrat in the next block. Here is the greatest and most promising of the forces making for universal peace. What are we to call it? If this movement be not guided by the spirit of Christ, there is no other movement that is. The professed materialism of so many of its adherents is only incidental, and due to the moral apathy of the churches more than to any other cause whatsoever.

But it cannot continue. No movement so intrinsically spiritual can continue without recognizing itself for what it really is. The touch of religious faith would make it irresistible.

"The vast international labor movement is an expression of it, and once that movement becomes aflame with religious zeal, all the forces of harm and hate will go down before it. . . . The one thing we have to get men to see is that to know God, and to be happy here or in a world to come, they must be unselfish, and that no other kind of worship and no other kind of creed are worth taking into account. Set the world on fire with this kind of faith in God, and we have saved it; it is the only reason for which churches exist, or ought to exist.

"We want this ancient ideal preached as a new evangel. We must show the masses that we are in earnest, and to do so we must let other objects sink into the background: 'Seek first the kingdom of God.' We must be simple and sincere if we would really help those who are simple and sincere. When we use the word sin, let us show that we mean selfishness; and when we proclaim a gospel for sin, let us begin by being unselfish ourselves. Where is the good of talking to men about sin while we have plenty and they are starving? The real sin consists in doing nothing to alter such a state of things. When the man with a burdened conscience comes to us for relief, let us tell him that we bear all the burden together, and that until he becomes a Christ, all the love in the universe will come to his help and share his struggle. His burden is ours—the burden of the Christ incarnate for the redemption of the world. There is no want within the range of human experience which this gospel will not meet. It is the proclamation of our oneness with God. Never since the nascent days of the Christian evangel has that gospel been preached with fervor and clearness by an undivided church.

"If the Church will unite to preach it now, the future is glorious. It can be preached under any or all of the existing ecclesiastical forms, but it must be preached; the world

is waiting for it. The unprivileged masses of every nation in Christendom are yearning for it and ready to respond to it. They do not know—how could they know?—that the Church originally came into being for this end and no other; so in their hunger for a purer, nobler social order they have turned away from the Church, and many of them are making the mistake of thinking that they can live by bread alone. Let the prophets come forward and tell them the truth, the truth that the hither and the yonder are one, and that man is worth the saving here because he has an immortal destiny, and must begin somewhere if he is to reach the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ in 'the one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves.'"

Here is an inspiring message from a leading minister of a great evangelical metropolitan pulpit. It is true that Mr. Campbell's orthodoxy has been called in question. It is true also that the orthodoxy of many others of the present who are not content with crying "Lord! Lord!" but who are most faithfully doing the work enjoined by the Nazarene is being called in question. But so it has ever been. The prophets are slain, but their messages become the marching orders for the sons of God; and to-day the awakening of the social conscience is not confined to any church or body of men. It is in evidence on every hand. The battle for economic emancipation, for social righteousness, pure government and justice will be waged with increasing bitterness between the forces of darkness, reaction, credulism, dogmatic theology, privilege and egoism on the one hand, and the cohorts of light, brotherhood, freedom, fraternity and justice on the other. But the spirit of the Nazarene is abroad in the church and in the world. The ideal of the Golden Rule is being pitted against the ideal of the rule of gold. It is idealism *versus* materialism, unselfishness or altruism against egoism or the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. Yes, the battle will be fierce and determined, but none can doubt the ultimate issue. Democracy is leagued with the dawn. She is attended by freedom, justice and fraternity. The future belongs to her.

OKLAHOMA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: A MONUMENT TO PROGRESSIVE AND CONSCIENTIOUS STATESMANSHIP.

THE MEN who have framed the constitution of Oklahoma deserve to stand side by side with the illustrious statesmen who toiled so faithfully in the infant days of our nation to meet the exigencies of their time and safeguard the interests of all the people, and with the enlightened statesmen of modern New Zealand who have placed that wonderful little commonwealth in the van of the democratic states of the world,—the noblest exponent of just and popular government.

The first state constitution to be framed in the Republic since the dawn of the twentieth century is fittingly the nearest a model constitution of that of any state in the New World. Among its leading provisions are the following:

Direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum, by constitutional provisions framed by sincere friends of a democratic republic.

Nomination of all state, county, district and township officers by primaries.

Prohibition of succession in state offices.

Prohibition of railway corporations from owning any productive agency of a natural commodity.

Prohibition of corporations from owning more land than is absolutely necessary in the operation of their business.

Prohibition of the issuance of watered stock; books of corporations made subject to inspection at all times.

Prohibition of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in factories and mines.

Elective state corporation commission.

Two-cent passenger fares.

Labor and arbitration commission.

Agricultural commission.

Oil, gas and mines commission.

Submission of the prohibition question to the people of the whole state.

The appointment of a commission to negotiate purchase of the segregated mineral lands in Indian Territory, valued at many millions of dollars.

In commenting on this constitution in *The*

Commoner, the well-known editor, Mr. Will M. Maupin, observes:

"Just and righteous things which the people of older states have fought in vain for years to secure through the operation of legislation, are given the people of this great new state by the constitution which they themselves have written. It is a people's constitution in fact as well as in name. It took Massachusetts, New York, Illinois and other states a third of a century to secure adequate legislation against child labor, but Oklahoma's constitution prohibits it ever entering the state. Workingmen in older states fought and plead for years for laws safeguarding them and abrogating the old English rule of fellow-servants. They will not have to make that fight in Oklahoma, for the constitution fixes it forever unless changed by a majority vote, and employer's liability is the fundamental law of the new state.

"The eight-hour day in state, county and municipal work is provided for, and the legislature is empowered to provide a state printing plant which will relieve the people from the exactions of the school text-book trust and a printing combine that has long looted the territorial treasury. The employment of children under 15 years of age in factories or underground mines is prohibited.

"Oklahoma joins the sisterhood of states with the best constitution ever drafted by the people of any state. And no other territory was ever better fitted for statehood. The citizenship of Oklahoma combines within itself the best blood and brain and brawn of all the states—a typical Americanism that is better than Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Celt, or Dane—men who have nerved themselves to dare and do, and in the doing have established a commonwealth the like of which the world never saw at a similar age."

We have in the last few years had many letters from Oklahoma asking for informa-

tion and facts in regard to direct-legislation and many other questions that intimately relate to popular rule and justice for all the people, which indicated the deep interest which the readers of *THE ARENA* in the territory that was soon to be a state were taking in the grave work that their representatives would soon be called upon to perform; and

it is with keen pleasure that we note this youngest of the members of the sisterhood of states meeting the changed conditions and new dangers that have arisen since the feudalism of privileged wealth has gained mastery of political bosses and machines, in a manner worthy of a twentieth century democratic state.

THE FINE RECORD OF THE MUNICIPAL STREET RAILWAYS OF LIVERPOOL FOR THE LAST YEAR.

WE HAVE recently received the annual report of the street-car service of Liverpool, by which it is shown that last year the municipal street-car service yielded a gross profit of £192,337, or about \$961,685. Of this amount £109,580, or about \$547,900, was applied for interest and sinking funds, leaving a balance of £82,756, or about \$431,780, that was applied as follows: reserve, renewal and depreciation, £55,171, or about \$272,855; and the balance of £27,585, or about \$137,925, was applied to reduction of taxes.*

The average fare paid was 1.108 pence. The average length of the penny stage was 2 miles, 699 yards.

Of course from the view-point of the Morgans, the Ryans, the Belmonts and the hosts of apologists and attorneys for corporation exploitation of the people by privately-owned public utilities, this record will be regarded as a failure. It does not provide for a large stream of profits being diverted into the pockets of a few dangerously rich men. But to the thoughtful, level-headed, common-sense citi-

zen, it will appear a splendid record and will furnish another object lesson showing the practicality of popular-ownership of public utilities. Here it is seen that after the city had set aside money for the sinking fund account, for the reserve fund and for depreciation, it was able to turn \$137,925 over for the relief of taxes. Nor is this all. The riot of graft and corruption that has marked American municipalities since great corporations, organized to acquire those golcondas of the civilized state, the public utilities, such as the street-cars, electric lights, gas and telephones, and that has been proven in every investigation and exposure of modern municipal corruption in American cities, has been due principally to the debasing influence of public-service companies seeking monopoly rights to exploit and plunder the people. Private-ownership of natural monopolies is the tap-root of political corruption and moral degradation in city, state and nation, as it is the backbone and chief reliance of the corrupt bosses and the "practical" men—the venal masters of the political machines.

A VINDICATION OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP BY THE INVESTIGATIONS OF A GREAT LONDON CONSERVATIVE DAILY.

THE LONDON *Daily Telegraph*, a well-known journal which has no leanings in favor of public-ownership, appreciating the genuine interest in the question of the success or failure of municipal-ownership throughout Great Britain, recently commissioned its cor-

*We have used only the pounds in the report, ignoring shillings and pence.

respondents in eighty British municipalities to report the profit or loss of public utilities operated by the municipalities. On April 1st the paper published the seventy-five reports that had been returned. It is significant that a city like Birmingham, where municipal-ownership had been scarcely less successful than in Glasgow, should be omitted from the

report. But the returns must have proved as disappointing to the editors as they are gratifying to the friends of public-ownership. Had the *Telegraph* been an American daily whose stock was heavily owned by stockholders in privately owned public utilities, it is not probable that the report would ever have seen the light of print, for it showed that of thirty municipal gas plants reported on, all are being operated either at a profit or without loss. Of fifty-six electric-light plants, thirty-nine are showing a clear profit. Of thirty-five street-car lines, twenty-four are being run at a profit. Of thirty-three municipal waterworks, twenty-eight are run at a profit.

It should be remembered that these figures come from an authority unfavorable to public-ownership, and furthermore we should bear in mind that in many instances towns have

installed public plants where no private company would undertake the business, knowing that for some years it would be impossible to look for large returns. But the citizens, desiring the utilities, voted for the municipal plants, feeling that the convenience and benefit would greatly overmatch the loss that might be sustained for a few years, and also realizing the fact that a public utility grows more and more valuable as population increases, so that a plant that is operated at a small profit, or at a loss, for a time, will ultimately become a veritable gold mine to the municipality owning it. Still further, the publicly owned and operated natural monopolies frequently secure for the citizens greatly reduced rates and incomparably better service than that which they supplant, and in these ways vastly over-balance any possible loss.

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

IT HAS on many occasions afforded us genuine pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the fine work for genuine democracy and just and pure government which has been carried forward by Mr. Louis F. Post in his admirable paper, *The Public*—a paper which in our judgment is the best editorial sheet published in America. In its issue of April 20th Mr. Post has an editorial analysis and a historical sketch of the Chicago election contest which impresses us as being not only by far the finest thing that has been written on the subject, but as being one of the very best editorials that has appeared in any journal in months.

The gifted editor does not see in the reverse any indication of a reactionary rising tide, and his conclusions are legitimate and true. But one thing must not be lost sight of by the friends of progress. Now as never before the great grafting influences everywhere, the bosses, the machines and the criminal rich or the representatives of predatory wealth, are alarmed and aroused. From now on we must expect that the wealth of corrupt influences seeking monopoly privileges for the purpose of exploiting and oppressing the people will flow like water in all great contests, as it flowed in Chicago; while the grafting element and the beneficiaries of special privi-

lege who pose as pillars of society will join hands with the corrupt cohorts from the social cellar, as they did in Chicago. And the friends of pure government, of just conditions and of democracy must not only expect but be prepared to meet this formidable array, reinforced by the money-controlled press, in forthcoming contests. From now on, wherever a Dunne, a Johnson, a LaFollette, a Folk or a Bryan appears, we shall find far more than empty denunciations and braggart words. The plutocracy knows these men to be genuinely sincere. It knows that they cannot be bought, cannot be cajoled, flattered, bullied or frightened from their allegiance to the cause of the people. It knows that these men are not compromisers, when compromise means surrender of the cause of justice to predatory wealth. It knows that they are not Tafts or Roots or Cortelyous or Shaws, nor are they men who would select such men as the above for political bed-fellows and confidential companions. They are not men who would ask a Harriman to come down and discuss a message with them. The opposition to all such men is unanimous and whole-hearted in so far as the grafting element and the predatory rich are concerned. In this respect it is far different from the opposition accorded Mr. Roosevelt, where one wing of

the plutocracy opposes him while another is staunchly with him.

In closing his editorial survey Mr. Post says:

"In this campaign, then, Mayor Dunne was confronted with overwhelming odds. The traction companies were against him. All the financial interests of Chicago were against him. The great financial interests of New York that reap profits from the exploitation of Chicago, were against him. His immediate predecessor as mayor, who was also his competitor at the Democratic primaries, was against him. The 'goo-goos' and the 'gray wolves' were against him. An enormous corruption fund furnished by the traction interests, which had millions at stake, was at the disposal of his enemies in both parties for use against him. The lawyer whom he trusted to carry out the purpose of 'the Werno letter' was against him. The entire press of the city, except the Hearst papers, all of them at bottom under the control of predatory interests and some of them beneficiaries of public plunder, were in league against him. The Hearst papers were not for him until too late to aid him. Every plutocratic vote was a vote for his adversary. Every philistine vote was a vote for his adversary. Every venal vote was a vote for his adversary.

"Yet Mayor Dunne, in the face of these enormous odds, was defeated by only 12,991 plurality in a total vote of 335,000. He received 45 per cent. of the total vote; his adversary received less than 49 per cent.—a difference of hardly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

"Small as this difference was, it was enough to elect Busse and defeat Dunne. But in the great conflict now developing between an aggressive plutocracy and an awakening democracy, the event of a contest such as that at Chicago is of less importance than are its indications of the drift of public sentiment. By this test there is in the Chicago vote nothing discouraging to the friends of progressive democracy.

"If the *omnium-gatherum* of venality in rags and venality in swallowtails, of degraded poor and ignorant rich, of saloon 'heelers' and club politicians, of dainty reformers and slum coteries, of grafting newspapers and

pharisee pulpiteers, of all the high cohorts and all the low camp-followers of privilege, acting in unison with a political machine enmasked in the splendid traditions of the party of Abraham Lincoln and oiled freely with the spoils of county, state and national politics—if such an aggregation could not in such circumstances command more than 49 per cent. of the total vote of Chicago, while Mayor Dunne with a disorganized party and neither money nor newspaper support could under the same circumstances command more than 45 per cent., the evidence of virility in progressive democracy is full of hope. For Chicago itself, for every other municipality in which privilege and democracy are in battle array, and for the nation at large whose political issues are taking on the same shape, the result in Chicago is indicative of an advance of progressive democracy in the public mind.

"This encouragement may be found also in the vote on the traction ordinances. Not only were the same agglomerate elements of privilege that opposed Dunne united in support of those ordinances, but the ordinances were advocated as municipal-ownership measures. Voters who lacked the sense of humor to see the absurdity of a campaign by traction corporations for traction corporations and at the expense of traction corporations in behalf of municipal-ownership, were led by the newspaper combine, by Mayor Dunne's own traction counsel, and by much of the ordinance literature, to suppose that they were voting for municipal-ownership in voting for these ordinances. In such circumstances a majority of only 33,000 for the ordinances out of a total vote of nearly 300,000 is not indicative of a public sentiment against public-ownership.

"What municipal-ownership has lost in Chicago is legal power; for these ordinances make municipal-ownership almost impossible, however strong municipal-ownership sentiment may be. So much then is indeed lost, just as there is a practical loss in the defeat of Dunne. But in the one case as in the other there is no evidence of popular reaction. Privilege may have gained a tactical advantage, but progressive democracy has lost none of its impetus."

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS' SERIOUS ILLNESS AND CONVALESCENCE.

FOR MORE than three months a shadow has rested over the office of THE ARENA, cast by the very critical illness of Professor Frank Parsons, whose life for some time trembled in the balance, and even the skilful surgeons in charge more than once despaired of his recovery. Now, however, thanks largely to the healthy condition of his blood due to a strictly temperate life, he is convalescing, and all friends of true democracy and just government will, we are sure, share our relief and thankfulness at the promised restoration to health.

We believe that there is not another man among the earnest, single-hearted scholars who are devoting their lives to the cause of just and free government, whose loss would mean so much to fundamental democracy in the present political and economic crisis, as that of Professor Frank Parsons. His long experience gained during the years he served as a member of the faculty of the Law Department of Boston University, and as a legal text-book writer, admirably fitted him to do his great work for rational democratic progress in a masterly manner. He had learned to look on all sides of a mooted question, to reason broadly and to maintain a judicial attitude. His innate love of fairness and justice was no less marked than his passionate desire to know the truth, that he might judge righteously. He has apprehended as have few of our leaders the vital importance of direct-legislation for the preservation of free and just government. The research required for the preparation of his important work, *The City for the People*, showed him what similar investigation has shown all fair-minded students who have delved deeply into the subject,—that the great tap-root of modern municipal corruption is to be found in the public-service corporations seeking enormously valuable franchises and other privileges which ought by rights to be always owned and operated by the people and for the benefit of all the people. He saw that it was idle to hope to break the power of corrupt political bosses, rings and machines so long as they had behind them the rich public-

service companies whose master spirits were identified with other leading commercial enterprises in the community and who posed as the ultra-respectable pillars of society. The great campaign-contributing corporations made the machine invincible and in effect destroyed free government. He saw that only through such wise, sane and eminently practical provisions as had early marked the New England town government, and which has been perfected, extended and modified so as to meet the requirements of the present-day municipality, the state and the nation, by the Swiss people in their legislation known as the initiative and referendum, could the power of triumphant corruption be destroyed and a pure, just and truly democratic government be restored. In the second place, so long as natural monopolies remained in the hands of the few, offering the lure of immense wealth—wealth that would naturally increase with every successive year, or as the community increased in population and wealth, all the resources and ingenuity which cunning lawyers and controlled officials could exert would be employed to defeat the ends of good government and to exploit the people for the interests of the few. Hence, next to direct-legislation or the establishment of a truly democratic government, through measures adapted to meet the present emergency, it was important that the community or the people take over the natural monopolies or public utilities.

His exhaustive and painstaking research connected with the preparation of his fascinating *Story of New Zealand* showed him the wonderfully beneficent results following the workings of a government that placed the rights and interests of all the people above class concern or privileged interests,—a government that had the ideal of justice ever before it as a guiding star; and it also showed him the splendid victory attainable when the spirit of genuine democracy was the keynote of public service. The results which he found had followed the introduction and the carrying forward of a sane and wise democratic program of progress confirmed his wholesome

optimism, giving him courage to enter with enthusiasm upon the great work that had to be done before our nation could be wrested from the domination of privileged greed.

He visited Europe on two occasions, spending many months in the Old World—months of careful and painstaking investigation. The railways and public utilities and the great voluntary coöperative work of the Old World enlisted his time and attention. He has, we believe, made a far more careful personal study of the railway systems of the various European countries than any other American, and he went into this work thoroughly prepared, having studied the railroad problem in this country for several years, during which time he had travelled throughout the Republic from ocean to ocean and had interviewed scores upon scores of leading railroad officials, managers and men intimately acquainted with the railway service in all its different phases. His great books, the fruit of four years of onerous labor, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*, are master works, without peers in the railway literature of the New World.

His study of municipal-ownership has made him preëminent as an authority on this great

question; while the victories won by voluntary coöperation in Great Britain, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, France and other European lands early led him to take a prominent part in important attempts to further coöperative enterprises in the New World. He has long been intimately associated with this work in America.

Among all the rare spirits whom it has been our fortune to know and to work with during the past eighteen years, we know of no life more absolutely unselfish, more whole-souled in its devotion to the cause of just government and the rights of man, more loyal to the high demands of moral idealism, or more insensible to any and all the wiles and lures that tempt men to betray a trust or be recreant to duty, than Professor Frank Parsons. Far above and beyond the feelings of personal friendship or editorial association rises the value of this life to the Republic. His loss would have been irreparable in the present crisis in our history. Knowing the man and his service to the cause of human progress as we do, our readers can understand something of the joy we experience in his promise of health, which we trust will enable him to yet devote many useful years to the cause of the people and the interests of democracy.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of The National Public-Ownership League.

Houston, Texas.

A WRITER in a recent issue of the *Outlook*, describing the new system of government in Houston, gives as one of the best evidences of its superiority over the old system the achievements of the municipal water-works. When governed by a corrupt city council, the people had voted 3 to 1 against municipal-ownership, but when the commission system and the referendum were adopted the citizens gained confidence in their government and reversed the former vote 4 to 1. The city took charge of the plant in October. The old company's service had not been satisfactory. Since it was cheaper to pump from the Bayou than from

the artesian wells that were supposed to furnish the supply, a considerable percentage of Bayou water was mixed with the pure water from the wells. Moreover, the fire pressure was often inadequate. The city at once cut off the Bayou water, and began the installation of duplicate machinery. The average water pressure was increased about nine pounds, and adequate fire pressure was obtained. While wages of employes were increased slightly—about \$3,600 a year—the salaries of the company's officials were dispensed with to the amount of \$9,000 annually. The city is burning less coal than the old company, and the total expense of operating the more efficient plant is about \$400 less than it was under private management.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

LINCOLN owns and operates its water-works and electric-light plant, and furnishes water at prices that are but half of what are charged in any other western city that is dependent as Lincoln is, upon wells. Mayor Brown says that the city will make approximately \$93,500 this year out of its water-works. The lighting plant which has been running but a little over a year has proved its superiority to the old private system. For many years the city paid a private company per month for arc lamps for street lighting prices ranging from \$10 down to \$7.45 for all-night lights and \$5.45 for midnight lights, moonlight schedule, operating at that time 180 lamps. Then the city adopted gas lights until September 1, 1905, when its municipal plant was installed at a cost of \$86,690. Its lights are all-night lights every night, and of a candle-power admittedly much superior to those furnished under private-ownership, and the average cost is \$4.26 per light per month.

Needham, Massachusetts.

By AN almost unanimous vote one of the hottest town meetings ever held in Needham turned down the proposition to sell the town's electric-light distributing plant to the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, and authorized the moderator to appoint a committee of five citizens to report upon the advisability of the town building a generating plant and doing both street and commercial lighting.

At present the town owns the distributing plant, and the power is bought from the Edison Company, the latter also doing the commercial lighting. The street-lighting contract does not expire until October, 1908, but the company, following up its policy of obtaining a monopoly of the lighting business of eastern Massachusetts, has for some time been endeavoring to secure absolute control of the system in this town.

Although the Edison company had the chairman of the Board of Aldermen on its side engineering the effort to sell out the town's plant, the corporation attorneys could not swing the town meeting. They met overwhelming defeat.

Mr. Bundy's Questionnaire.

MR. JOHN BUNDY of Syracuse, N. Y., has recently made an investigation among the

cities owning lighting plants, and reported the results of his inquiries to the Syracuse Lighting Commission. Inquiries were sent out to 132 cities and replies received from 101. Ninety-four cities claimed to furnish light at lower rates than public-service corporations. Seven cities reported plants abandoned. Of sixty-three cities reported in newspapers or other publications to be unsuccessful, thirty-four replied to the charge, seven admitted failure, ten stated that municipal-ownership had not been tried, and seventeen claimed that they were operating successfully.

Mr. Bundy furnishes figures to show that the city of Syracuse could build a power station and furnish light and power at lower prices than are now charged and make a good profit, and in figuring the cost of conducting the business he makes allowance of \$170,000 per year, as the excess of the cost of management by the city over what a public-service corporation would pay.

Calgary, Canada.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP of public utilities is a thoroughly established policy in the cities of this territory and Calgary is about to lead the way in the matter of establishing her own street-railway system. The Public Works Committee has reported in favor of expending \$250,000 on the street-railway system and the city council has decided that the building and administration of the system shall be placed in the hands of competent commissioners.

Inflated Capital of Private Companies.

WILLIAM D. MARKS, the gas expert of Buffalo, N. Y., has recently reported to the State Gas and Electrical Commission that while the Buffalo gas companies are capitalized at \$15,000,000 their property is worth less than \$2,000,000. He puts the cost of gas at 51 cents. Professor Bemis at the same time stated that if the companies were capitalized at \$2,246,000 they could sell gas at 80 cents, allow 5 cents for depreciation and make a profit of 6 per cent. As it is now, 52 cents per 1,000 cubic feet are used to pay capital charges.

The Philadelphia Gas Commission says that the United Gas Improvement Company has wrongfully charged up from \$4,000,000 to

\$10,000,000 on improvements which is really a repairs account; the city could take back its plant and during the 20 years the lease has still to run sell gas at 75 cents and clear fifty million dollars.

New Municipal Water-Works.

MANY OF OUR readers say that they hope we will give the news of the growth of municipal-ownership of water-works, and notwithstanding what we said on the subject last month, it may be well that at least some of the notable cases be included in our reports.

During the past month Galena, Illinois, has won, after a three years' fight, the possession of the water-works which will hereafter be the property of the city. The price is \$82,000. The service rendered by the private company has been very poor and the city will at once give a largely increased fire protection and extend the service into an increased number of households.

At Franklin, New Hampshire, the vote taken by the town meeting for the purchase of the franchise and plant of the Franklin Water Company was passed by a unanimous vote. The price will be \$170,000. Permission must be secured from the legislature. The city plans to introduce a system of artesian wells to replace the bad supply furnished by the private company.

At Live Oak, Florida, the fight for city-ownership of water-works was referred to a Board of Arbitration. Their report on the valuation of the plant owned by the private party has been voted on and will be adopted.

The following towns have taken steps towards securing possession of water-works during the month: Roseville, California; Selma and Tallahassee, Florida; Cochran, Commerce, Madison and Vidella, Georgia; Cary, Danforth, Good Hope, and Heyworth, Illinois; Cordell and Eufaula, Indian Territory; Dallas City and West Branch, Iowa; Ponca, Kansas; Alexandria, Louisiana; Franklin, Massachusetts; Battle Lake, Michigan; Battle Lake, Farmington and Henderson, Minnesota; Gunnison, Mississippi; Carthage, Missouri; Arcadia, Nebraska; Laurinburg and Shelby, North Carolina; Russell, North Dakota; Medina, Youngstown and Zanesville, Ohio; Drexel and Eugene, Oregon; Hobart, Peoria and Prague, Oklahoma; Lewisburg, Tennessee; Gilmer, Maypearl, Nacogdoches and Plana,

Texas; Bellingham, Creston and Riverside, Washington; Wheeling, West Virginia; Linden, Manitowoc and Withee, Wisconsin; Wetaskiwin, Alta, Canada; Brandon, Manitoba, Canada; London and Welland, Ontario, Canada.

New Lighting Plants.

THE FOLLOWING towns have been reported in the press during the month as taking steps towards the introduction of public-owned gas and electric-light plants: Fort Smith and Lake Village, Arkansas; Edgewood and Madison, Georgia; Holden, Massachusetts; Calumet, Michigan; Battle Creek and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Stanton, Nebraska; Newark, New Jersey; Lowville and Sherburne, New York; Arlington, Athens and Magnolia, Ohio; Eugene and Jefferson, Oregon; Sharon and South Sharon, Pennsylvania; Bountiful and Ogden, Utah; Pulaski, Virginia; Wetaskiwin, Alta, Canada; Deseronto, Ontario, Canada.

A Municipal Journal at Detroit.

THE CITY of Detroit, in accordance with legal requirements, follows the practice of publishing the official proceedings in the daily papers, a practice which, for reasons well-understood, is not altogether satisfactory. Comptroller Joy has made an official recommendation that the city publish a weekly municipal journal containing the proceedings of the Common Council, Board of Education, the Library Commission, the Fire Commission, the Police Department, and the Board of Health, as well as all legal advertisements of the city, proposals for bids, notices, etc. The paper will be published every Wednesday morning, sent free to all city officials, and mailed to interested citizens at the price of \$1 a year.

Municipal Fuel Supply at Spokane.

THERE is a strong public movement in Spokane, Washington, in favor of the city organizing and operating a municipal fuel yard. The fuel supply of the city is under the control of a combination of capitalists who have charged arbitrary and exorbitant prices during the past winter, and as a result the public protest is taking the form of a constructive plan whereby the city shall pro-

tect the people from further abuses of this sort. Eminent attorneys are of the opinion that an ordinance for the purpose would be legal, as the state law permits municipalities of the first class to supply water, light and heat to the public.

The Chicago Election.

THE CHICAGO election was an unmerited defeat for Mayor Dunne, and a high-priced victory for the J. Pierpont Morgan ring; it was a set-back to the cause of public-ownership because the enemy was shrewd, powerful and unscrupulous, but it was not a defeat of public-ownership at the hands of the people. A great majority of the people of Chicago believe in public-ownership. Out of a vote of 330,000 Dunne was beaten by less than 13,000, while the socialists, all of them believing in carrying the principle of public-ownership further than Dunne would, polled 13,500 votes. No bought votes can be computed on this side of the scale, while on the other side there were all the corrupting influences which money could create, and all the prejudice, fear and confusion of issues that money could inspire. Thousands who believe in public-ownership, "not now, but soon," voted for Busse. Even men such as Jenkin Lloyd Jones favored the adoption of the ordinances. The issues were badly confused. Mayor Dunne was initially responsible for this in his appointment of Walter Fisher as traction counsel. This man showed the corporations how to beat the people.

The corporations now hold 20 year franchises with the condition that the city may buy the entire property at any time after giving six months' notice by paying \$50,000,000 and the cost of extensive improvements which the companies are required to make. Upon these improvements about \$40,000,000 is to be expended. There are to be universal transfers, and the city is to receive annually 55 per cent. of the net earnings.

The London County Council Again.

MUCH ado has been made by the press of America, and especially by that part of it which is controlled by traction, gas or telephone interests, over the recent election in London, and a manifest desire to befuddle

the voters of this country has led the papers to bring every possible influence to bear in their endeavor to create a totally false impression about the election which they herald as "the defeat of municipal-ownership." They assert gleefully that municipal-ownership of public utilities was the issue in the London election; that municipal-ownership was defeated; that London has made a thorough trial of municipal-ownership and has rejected it, and that consequently it would be the height of folly for American cities to give it further thought or to consider it other than an abject failure. Some of the newspapers aver, with delightful inconsistency, that the result of the election was due to the large vote cast by the women, who are privileged to vote in municipal elections in England, and therefore, "if reformers will insist upon equal suffrage for women, they must take the consequences."

The fact of the matter is that municipal-ownership, either as a general principle or in detail, was not involved in the election of March 1st, and the result will in only the slightest degree affect the policy of the London County Council Ownership of Public Utilities which was definitely entered upon by London fully a dozen years ago. England has universally committed herself to this policy. Much has been accomplished nationally along these lines. The telegraph is nationalized, the telephone service is being nationalized, and by government control it is preparing the way for nationalization of the railway systems. London's excellent municipal tramway lines, and the many things that she has already accomplished in bettering the conditions of the poor districts, are enduring monuments to the efficacy of the public-ownership policy and will not be abandoned by the people. The new London County Council will continue this policy as its predecessors have done because the people demand it.

The issue in this campaign turned on the question of higher tax-rates which was raised by the enormous and as yet unprofitable expenditures in widening the Strand and in opening the new thoroughfares, Aldwych and Kingsway, which are laid out for half a mile through very costly property, which had to be purchased before the improvements could be made. The land along the Strand is the most valuable in London and wherever the

council widened or opened a new street it was forced to buy not only the land actually needed for the operations, but also the whole portion, being compelled by statute to do so. Then too, efforts have been made to beautify and modernize the city, large portions of which are so old and congested that London has been forced to remain one of the ugly cities, while Paris and Berlin have been constantly improving until now they rank as the most beautiful cities of the world. All this civic betterment cost London an enormous sum, about \$1,000,000,000, and consequently taxes have been increased. But it must be remembered that all this outlay is merely an investment, for the improvements made and the property purchased will eventually return increasing revenue and abundantly justify what has been spent.

This then is the story of the "defeat of municipal-ownership." The people have repeatedly shown their appreciation and approval of the municipal enterprises of London, for they are admirably conducted in the public interest and are most of them successful business concerns.

Among British Cities.

THE LONDON *Daily Telegraph*, a paper that is opposed to municipal-ownership, has recently been making an investigation as to the success of municipal-ownership in Great Britain. Quite contrary to the manifest desire of that paper, and directly contradictory to the current "colored matter" that is being published in the American press, this investigation proves, even by the mere commercial test of profit and loss, that municipal-ownership is a success.

Of thirty municipal gas undertakings, all are found to be working either without loss or at a clear profit. Of thirty-three municipal water undertakings, twenty-eight are in the profitable class. Of fifty-six electric undertakings, thirty-nine are in that class. Of thirty-five street-car undertakings, there are twenty-four in the same class. Every possible instance of mistake or failure is included in this investigation. Every case of questionable results is given the damnation of the doubt and the more perfectly successful cities, such as Birmingham, are left out of the investigation.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary to the National Federation for People's Rule.

Mr. Bryan's Brooklyn Speech.

THROUGHOUT the country there is considerable discussion of Mr. Bryan's declaration for the initiative and referendum in his recent Brooklyn speech. The Brooklyn *Eagle's* report says:

"Oratorically, he was the Bryan of 1906—the Bryan who swept a convention off its feet and himself into the presidential candidacy by the overpowering eloquence of his tongue. He was brilliant, sarcastic, humorous, but above everything else, he was a man intensely in earnest, a man who believed every word that he uttered and who believed that the time was not far distant when the nation would believe them too.

"Twice during his speech did he drag his audience to its feet to hurl volley after volley

of cheers. The first time was when he exclaimed, in a passionate outburst, 'you may differ from me in other questions, but if you do not believe in the right of the people to govern themselves, I will, if I can, my friends, drive you out of the Democratic party.'

Mr. Bryan's full statement on this point is as follows:

"The doctrines of Jefferson are marching on. Anything that makes the government more democratic, more popular in form; everything that gives the people more control over the government will win.

"You may help it, you may retard it, you may defeat it, but one of the things that is coming, that is Jeffersonian, that is democratic, is the initiative and referendum for the control

of the government. No man will make an argument against the referendum who is not prepared to deny the capacity of the people for self-government. You may differ from me on every question, but if you do not believe in the right of the people to govern themselves, I will, if I can, drive you out of the Democratic party (loud applause), and if the Democratic party does not believe in the rule of the people it will have no trouble in driving me out of the Democratic party (applause), but I do not think it is coming to the test.

"The faults of our government are not in the people themselves; they are in those whom the people elect. The faults of our government are in the representatives of the people who pretend to be friends of the people but betray their trust and turn to private account the authority placed in their hands for public purposes. (Applause) The initiative places it in the power of the people to compel the submission of any question upon which they want to act, and the referendum enables them to sit in judgment upon anything which the legislature has done. Your constitution provides that the Governor or President may veto what the legislature proposes, and if any man has a right to veto the legislature, who will say that the majority of voters has not the right to veto also?" (Applause)

Houston, Texas.

MUCH is being said about the improved form of city government which Houston is enjoying since it followed Galveston's example and adopted the commissioner system. Much of the improvement, however, is due to the referendum and the direct popular control over franchise matters which the city enjoys along with its commission. The theft of valuable public rights by public-service corporations is made practically impossible by the provision in the charter, first, for the publication once a week for three consecutive weeks, of every franchise ordinance; the publication is at the expense of the applicant; second, the ordinance cannot become effective until thirty days after signature by the mayor; third, on the petition of 500 voters the commissioners are required to call a special election at which the franchise must be submitted to the popular vote. A majority vote is necessary to confirm any franchise so appealed.

Progress in Iowa.

THE IOWA legislature has adopted a new and improved system of municipal government for cities, and has devised a new form of direct-legislation for the state which has received more than a majority vote in the House. The improved system of municipal government is for cities of more than 25,000 population, and it is optional with the people to install it. An initiative petition by 25 per cent. of the voters can bring before their fellow-citizens the question of adopting the system. It is understood that Des Moines will soon make the change. The system provides for a board of five members, consisting of a mayor and four aldermen, with a veto power in the voters, who possess also the power of direct legislation, and the right of recall. These five officials are to receive fair salaries and devote their entire time and energies to their work and will be nominated and elected by direct vote. Thus expert business ability is to be combined with the people's rule. The actual working of the system will be watched with great interest. It is claimed that it will solve the problem of securing honest and effective municipal government provided complete home-rule is established. It is said that this system is to be attacked in the courts on a claim that the direct-legislation provision is unconstitutional.

Iowa's other proposed new system is a new form of advisory initiative. It is proposed that where a bill in the legislature or a resolution for the submission of a constitutional amendment fails to pass, the voters can put it to an advisory vote of their fellow-citizens at the primary election, or 55 of the 158 members of the legislature can order that the vote be taken. Such a system it is claimed would terminate most of the evils of the lobby. The bill, though introduced in the House by a Democrat, has received a vote of 44 as against 34, lacking only 11 of the required two-thirds vote for the submission of a constitutional amendment. This was too late for action by the senate.

The Pennsylvania Campaign.

WITHOUT amendment and without a dissenting vote the Pennsylvania House has passed the McCullough bill, establishing the initiative and referendum in the cities and boroughs of the state. Under this bill thirty

days must elapse before municipal ordinances other than emergency measures can go into effect, and within that period 5 per cent. of the voters by petition can compel the ordinances to be submitted to the voters for approval. Ten per cent. of the voters can frame an ordinance and ask that it be made into municipal law, and this must be enacted without change or the law-making authority must propose a competing measure, which, if passed, must then be submitted to the people for approval. When a referendum vote is demanded, the question must come up at the next election, provided the petition is filed thirty days before election. Municipal executives will have no veto power over measures proposed by the people, or over any measure which has been approved by the people at the polls.

In the Senate Judiciary Committee to which the bill was referred considerable opposition developed, and a strong case for the bill was put up by its friends. After a conference both sides agreed to an amendment restricting the operation of the law to the following subjects: The granting of consent to corporations, associations, partnerships and individuals, to occupy public streets, highways or public lands or to enter the said municipalities where such consent is required by the constitution or the laws of the commonwealth; the municipal-control or ownership of water-works, electric-light plants, gas plants, heating plants, or any other public utility or the sale, leasing or operating of the same; the purchase, sale or leasing of real estate, except such real estate as may be necessary for sewers and the disposal of sewage, the making of contracts for the supply of light, heat, gas or water for a longer period than two years.

While this compromise was made with a view to obtaining harmony and action there is danger at this writing that the whole thing will be killed by the action of one member of the committee, Senator Brown of Philadelphia, who under the apparent control of the Philadelphia franchise gang has secured a postponement under pretext of giving his constituents further hearing until a day that is treacherously close to the end of the session.

Public Opinion in The Bay State.

THE MASSACHUSETTS Public-Opinion bill, which has been engineered by Representative Robert Luce and Robert Treat Paine,

Jr., chairman of the League, has met with stubborn opposition on the part of the machine. The bill was in the hands of Mr. Luce's Committee on Election Laws, and was practically certain of becoming a law when the Republican machine, headed by Senator Lodge, awoke to its significance and put it under the ban. The senior senator came to Massachusetts, it is said, expressly to accomplish the defeat of the bill. For no other reason than to carry out his wishes in the matter the bill was referred back, not to the Election Committee but to the Ways and Means Committee, composed of more controllable gentlemen, who could be depended upon to report the bill unfavorably and so save the honorable members and the machine leaders from the necessity of open adverse action. Meanwhile a notable rally was held at noon, on April 25th, in Faneuil Hall, which gave so clear an indication of the public feeling in support of this bill that the subservience of even these members of the Ways and Means Committee to the dictates of the machine must be a difficult matter. The hall was full of voters whose enthusiasm for the principles of direct-legislation was a surprise to some of the speakers themselves. Mr. Paine presided and speeches were made by Mr. Luce, President Eliot of Harvard, Edwin D. Mead, Henry Sterling, the veteran direct-legislation worker of the state, the president of the Boston Central Labor Union and several others. The strong position taken by President Eliot was a surprise to many and the speech made by Mr. Mead was a most able and forceful presentation of the claims of direct-legislation. Whatever the fate of the bill may be this year, the cause will never lose the impetus gained in that Faneuil Hall rally.

The Illinois Public-Opinion Law.

AN EFFORT has been made under the leadership of Speaker Shurtleff of the Illinois legislature to repeal the Public-Opinion law, but it was defeated. By an overwhelming vote, only three members voting in favor of the measure, the House committee on judiciary killed the bill. The advocates of the bill said that the people did not know what they were voting on when they voted on questions of public policy, and the *Chicago Chronicle* says that the Public-Opinion law is a nuisance

all over the state, but these reactionaries find that they have a hard job when they undertake to turn the wheels of time backward.

Direct Election of United State Senators

TWO MORE states have established direct advisory election of United States senators. Iowa and Washington have joined the procession, making five states this year, and a total of 18. The states are Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. After a warm fight in the Pennsylvania legislature the House passed this measure unanimously and the Senate gave it a tie vote followed on second ballot by the loss of one senator who defeated the measure.

Minnesota.

SENATOR Fitzpatrick's initiative and referendum bill failed of passage in the senate by 2 votes. The vote was 30 ayes to 25 nays. The required majority vote is 32.

Connecticut.

SENATOR McNeil of Bridgeport introduced and ably supported in the legislature a municipal referendum bill. Quite a number of people went to Hartford from Bridgeport to support the bill before the judiciary committee but there seems but small chance of favorable action this year.

Referendums for Oregon's Next Election.

THE PATRONS of Husbandry of Oregon will submit the compulsory pass law and the \$100,000 appropriation for the establishment of eight armories in different towns in Oregon recently passed by the legislature to a referendum vote. The annual appropriation of \$125,000 for the State University will not be submitted to the referendum, but will be taken up in the form of an initiative in connection with the normal schools. To demand a referendum on this law would only stop the appropriation, and not settle the question. The initiative would fix the amount to be given the State University and the normal schools.

The grange has on hand \$2,000 to be used

in this referendum, and will move as rapidly as possible in getting the matter into shape. On the armory appropriation a fight is expected, but on the compulsory pass law clear sailing is looked for. In the eight cities where armories are to be established strong opposition to the referendum vote is expected, but in the rural districts, the move to repeal the law is expected to find its greatest strength. The policy of the Patrons of Husbandry is to invoke the referendum laws that it considers vicious and to use the initiative where constructive results are sought, as in the case of the State University and the normal schools.

Referendum in Cleveland.

WITH only one dissenting vote the city council has adopted the report of the special street-railway committee which has in charge Cleveland's traction problem. This report recommends that the matter of franchises, low fare, and other issues involved be submitted to popular vote. The city officials wish to submit a proposed natural gas franchise to a vote of the people, but as the Ohio law makes no provision for referendum votes the claim is made that this cannot be legally done. The difficulty however will be evaded. The suggestion that meets the most favor is for the city council to pass a resolution calling for a special bond issue election with the distinct understanding that the resolution is really to provide for an expression on the natural-gas franchise question. The plan is to ask the people to vote on the issuance of \$10,000 in bonds. Under this plan people who favor giving the Columbia Company a natural-gas franchise will be asked to vote yes and those opposed in the negative.

Spokane, Washington.

THE CITY council has adopted an initiative, referendum and recall ordinance which will be submitted to the people for approval. It has been opposed by the liquor interests of Spokane, who succeeded in raising the percentage of referendum petitions to 35. This provision is to be submitted to the people in the form of an amendment to the charter. Several other amendments are also to be submitted.

Portland, Oregon.

AN ORDINANCE has recently been passed providing that of two conflicting referendums on the same subject the one receiving the largest number of votes shall be the one adopted; that petitions for referendum must be filed with the city auditor 45 days before election; that 15 per cent. of the voters must sign the petition that a measure be voted upon by the people, and that any person forging names, or any person signing the petition who is not a legal voter, shall be liable to arrest, and may be fined not to exceed \$500 or be imprisoned for six months, or be liable to both the fine and imprisonment.

Oberlin Board of Commerce.

THE FOLLOWING resolution presented by Professor Anderegg of Oberlin College was recently adopted by the Board of Commerce:

"Resolved that we, individually as citizens, and collectively as the Oberlin Board of Commerce, respectfully but very earnestly request our representative, the Honorable Robert Lersch, actively to use his influence in the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, for the adoption by the House of the joint resolution to submit to popular vote a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum already adopted by the Senate and referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House, by which branch of the State Legislature it is to be considered at its adjourned session to be held in January, 1908."

Chautauqua County, New York.

THE NEW YORK legislature with only one dissenting vote has enacted a law granting to the people of Chautauqua county, New York, the optional referendum applying to measures passed by the Board of Supervisors authorizing the expenditure of more than

\$25,000. The Grange and organized labor of the county proposed the measure and the combined action of the farmers and the labor people succeeded in securing it.

Notes.

THE PEOPLE of Akron, Ohio, are clamoring for a referendum on a gas franchise recently passed by the council. But they can only clamor. They have no legal way of demanding it.

THE BOARD of Education of East Liverpool, Ohio, has decided to submit two questions of school administration to a popular vote.

A JOINT resolution for initiative and referendum constitutional amendment was introduced in the Florida legislature by Senator Humphries.

THE MICHIGAN legislature has passed a bill substituting salaries for fees of all public officials, with a referendum provision.

THE ST. LOUIS Conference of the Methodist Church has passed a resolution asking Governor Folk to have the question of prohibition submitted to a popular direct vote.

GOVERNOR Stokes has served notice on the New Jersey legislature that a referendum clause must be embodied in every bill providing for the annexation or division of territory in any city or borough.

THE SALE of absinthe has been prohibited by referendum vote in the canton of Geneva. War against this deadly drink has been carried on steadily for years. Last September the canton of Vaud, convening at Lausanne, set the example by passing such a prohibitory law, and it is believed that the whole federation will soon follow the example of this canton and also of Geneva.

HERMAN B. WALKER ON "THE PEOPLE'S LOBBY"
IN NEW JERSEY.

ALTHOUGH but a few months old, the most potent and promising power for progress, advancement and substitution of popular government for machine rule and corporation control in New Jersey politics to-day is the People's Lobby, a non-partisan movement organized last winter to watch state, county and city legislation and affairs generally, give publicity to matters of public interest in such legislation, to question candidates on specific subjects, and to advocate such reforms as are endorsed by its membership. The form of organization of the New Jersey Lobby is a State organization which devotes its attention to state affairs and questions, and county and city lobbies formed as branches out of the general membership. Its work is supported by a membership fee of three dollars a year, and voluntary contributions. At present the organization has a membership representing eighteen of the twenty-one counties in the state.

The program of legislative reforms for which the Lobby is working include the initiative and referendum, direct nominations, direct vote for United States senator, civil service, election reforms to establish the use of the blanket ballot and require personal registration, publication of a daily stenographic report of legislative proceedings, and the abolishment of committee rule in the legislature by the adoption of rules or a constitutional amendment requiring a report and vote upon every bill introduced.

During the recent session of the New Jersey Legislature, the Lobby had volunteer representatives present at the Capitol throughout the winter and spring, watching legislation, attending and speaking at hearings, exposing jokers and tricks in bills, writing newspaper articles and aiding members in the preparation and amendment of bills. A part of its summer campaign will be the compilation of the records of the legislators, to be printed and distributed in their districts, showing how they stood and voted on measures of public and corporate interest.

The Lobby is this fall to question all candidates on the initiative and referendum,

direct nominations and popular vote for United States senator.

Under the New Jersey constitution, amendments can be submitted to a vote of the people only once in five years, and the political machines have devised the plan of submitting unimportant amendments periodically, to prevent agitation for the submission of vital amendments. For this reason the Lobby is advocating the advisory form of the initiative and referendum, or public-opinion law, such as is in use in Illinois and is being advocated in Massachusetts. Moderate as is this proposition, it is meeting with determined opposition from both the Republican and Democratic machine leaders. These opponents, however, are, as is to be expected, seeking to overcome the issue by confusing it. One of the effects of the People's Lobby campaign is a determined effort being made by the brewers and the party machines to make the excise question an issue in this year's elections in the state.

In the Legislature this year the Lobby bills for a State public-opinion law were defeated by the lack of four votes in the House of Assembly, which had a Democratic majority. The bills to establish the initiative and referendum in the cities and counties met the same fate. Only one Republican and twenty-six Democrats voted for the initiative and referendum bills in the House. In the Senate no senator could be found to introduce them.

The Lobby bill for popular vote for senators, which followed the Oregon plan closely, was passed unanimously in the House. The Senate passed a substitute measure, proposed by the governor and fathered by the Republican leader, Senator Hillery, to have the vote taken in the party primaries, in each county separately, the party candidates to be pledged only to the choice of the party voters in their own county. This substitute was rejected by the House.

The civil-service bill urged by the Lobby passed the Senate in emasculated form, with school teachers and several other classes of public employes exempted, and was killed in the House by a coalition of the Republican

and Democratic machines, receiving only fifteen out of sixty votes of the assemblymen.

The direct-nomination bill was defeated in the Senate, with three Republicans and five Democrats voting for it, out of a total of twenty-one senators. One Democrat who dodged the vote is said to be slated for appointment to the Supreme Court bench.

Nobody could be found in either house to introduce the Lobby rule to require a vote on every bill introduced. As a direct result of the Lobby's fight, however, the Senate rules were amended to abolish the so-called "senatorial courtesy" which has ruled for years, and to permit a motion to relieve a committee from further custody of any bill. In the House a rule permitting a committee to be relieved of a bill on petition of twenty per cent. of the members, was defeated by a small margin of votes.

The Lobby bill for use of a blanket ballot, as established in Massachusetts, instead of separate party ballots, in general elections, was beaten in the Senate with only six Democrats and Senator Colby (reform Republican) in its favor. A bill endorsed by the Lobby, requiring personal registration for all elections was introduced in the House by the speaker, and passed as a Democratic caucus measure, but was killed in a Senate committee.

It was discovered by the Lobby early in the

session that the minutes of the House and journal of the Senate of the 1906 Legislature had not been printed, the clerk of the last Republican House, a Paterson city official and Erie Railroad lobbyist, not having written up the minutes. Bills proposed by the Lobby to have printed a daily stenographic legislative record, at an annual cost of \$25,000, were indorsed by the governor, and introduced in the House and Senate. In the Senate, although the measures were fathered by the Republican leader, they were not reported out of committee. In the House the bills were killed on a vote, one unusually frank Republican assemblyman opposing such a record on the ground that he did not want his constituents to know how poorly he represented them.

At the opening of its campaign for this fall the Lobby gave a dollar dinner in Newark on May 1st, at which William J. Bryan spoke on the initiative and referendum, more than 500 people waiting until one o'clock in the morning to hear him. The New Idea movement in the Republican party in the state, headed by State Senator Everett Colby and Mayor Fagan of Jersey City, has made the initiative and referendum part of its platform this year, and it seems reasonably certain that the principle will be made one of the planks in the Democratic state platform this fall.

HERMAN B. WALKER.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

SINCE the Editor of THE ARENA, in pursuance of the plan of this magazine to publish monthly the important news of fundamental forward movements in the interests of free and just government, has arranged with me to undertake the task of furnishing the readers of THE ARENA a monthly bulletin concerning the progress of reform in representative methods, it is fitting that in this initial issue I should begin with some brief definitions of Proportional Representation, for the benefit of those not entirely familiar with a subject which is second only in importance to direct-legislation.

Definitions.

The present plan of electing representatives in single-member districts is open to grave objection. It disfranchises nearly half the voters at every general election; it gives undue power to the party organizations, including a practical monopoly of nominations; it is so uncertain and erratic in its operation as to some times allow a minority of the voters to elect a majority of the representatives; it promotes bribery; it encourages gerrymander; it makes crookedness too often a factor of success; it nourishes party hatred, and it is

a system utterly unworthy of a progressive people in a scientific age.

The same remarks apply to the plan of electing several representatives from one large electoral district, if the "block vote" be used; that is, if each elector may cast as many equal votes as there are seats to be filled, and no proportional modifications are introduced.

Our objects then are these: To destroy the political monopoly exercised by the "party machine," with its accompaniments of disfranchisement, misrepresentation, plutocratic rule, gerrymandering, bribery, lying, corruption, crookedness, party bitterness and kindred political evils. To substitute therefor a just and proportional representation of all the electors, thereby making every vote effective, giving in the legislatures a true reflection of public opinion, and permitting the election of the best men.

The means we propose are the use of a reasonable and scientific system of voting, instead of the present unfair and inefficient procedure.

Methods.—There are several systems by which the principle of Proportional Representation may be given effect to. Plural electoral districts, each electing several members, are a necessary feature. The "quota" plan is usually employed. It means that a quota of the voters elects one representative. For instance, in a seven-member district, any one-seventh of the voters could elect one representative, and the other six-sevenths could not interfere with their choice. The simplest plan is that used in Japan, where plural electoral districts are used, but each voter has one vote only. Other and more complete systems are the Free List, as used in Switzerland and Belgium; the Hare System, as formerly used in Tasmania; and the Gove System, as advocated in Massachusetts.

The Preferential Vote.—This is used in the election of single officers, such as a mayor. It is not strictly a form of Proportional Representation, but is akin thereto, and uses part of the same voting methods. The object of Preferential voting is to encourage the free nomination of candidates and to obtain always a clear majority at one balloting, no matter how many candidates are running.

Where Proportional Representation is Used.

In Belgium Proportional Representation

has been used since 1900, for all parliamentary elections. The method has proved a great success. It has given the various political parties fair representation according to their strength, has ameliorated political rancor, lessened race bitterness, and produced a better class of legislators.

In Switzerland, the city of Berne and several cantons use Proportional systems, with good results.

In Finland, the new constitution includes Proportional Representation.

In Germany, the system is used in electing members of the Commercial Courts.

The empire of Japan elects the members of its House of Commons on a very simple plan of Proportional Representation. In electoral districts from which several members are elected, each voter has one vote only. This usually gives a true proportional result, but not always. When it does not, the result is not very far astray from true proportionalism.

Progress and Propaganda.

Tasmania, an Australian state, used the Hare system of Proportional Representation for six elections, and the people were well pleased. Then interested politicians succeeded in abolishing the system. The government which permitted this went down in defeat, and a new government brought in a bill re-establishing the Hare system. This bill was passed by the Lower House on a practically unanimous vote, but was defeated in the Upper House by two votes! Therefore, it will probably not be long before Tasmania has a just electoral law once more.

The reform is being pushed, with fair prospects of success, in Oregon, in Cuba, in England, in France, in South Australia, in Sweden, and elsewhere.

The Position in Oregon.

The result of the recent election in Oregon furnishes an especially striking instance of the injustice of plurality elections for members of the legislature. Oregon's house of representatives consists of sixty members. Fifty-nine of the sixty chosen last June are Republicans, while one is a Democrat. The whole vote of the state was, in round numbers, 96,000, so that every 1,600 voters are justly entitled to a representative. On this basis the Democrats, with 30,238 voters, would be entitled to nineteen members; the Socialists

with 6,804, would be entitled to four members, and the Prohibitionists, with 4,684, would be entitled to three members, while the Republicans should have the remaining thirty-four representatives instead of fifty-nine.

This gross inequality and injustice led to the starting of a movement for Proportional Representation in the state elections; of which Mr. W. S. U'Ren has kindly kept me fully informed. Events have moved rapidly. On the first of February, in the twenty-fourth regular session of the Oregon legislature, Senator Hedges introduced Senate Joint Resolution, No. 6, which was a constitutional amendment providing for the use of Proportional Representation in elections to the legislature. This constitutional amendment was rejected.

Writing on the 4th of March, Mr. U'Ren says, speaking for the People's Power League:

"Our experience in the legislature leads me to believe that we shall get ahead more rapidly in presenting our measure to the people if we include in the constitutional amendment the method as well as the principle. I have been asked invariably how we were going to accomplish our object and have obtained hearty approval of the principle since the general method was understood. I have no doubt that we shall present Proportional Representation to the people of Oregon by initiative petition in June next year as an amendment to the constitution."

The next step in Oregon is to decide what system is to be asked for by the initiative petition. This is a matter that calls for the most careful consideration and good judgment. Mr. U'Ren and his friends are well informed on the subject, and there is no doubt that a satisfactory result will be arrived at, so that the People's Power League will be able to decide on and present a simple system well adapted for Oregon conditions.

This will insure the initiative petition being freely signed.

Prospects in Cuba.

I am greatly pleased to be able to present some very important and encouraging news from Cuba. There is in Havana, connected with the Department of State and Justice, a representative body called the law advisory commission, of which Colonel Crowder, U. S. A., is president. The commission has just framed a new electoral law to take the place of the present law, which in several respects, has not worked well. This new law embodies the principle of Proportional Representation in all municipal legislative and other public elections, and embodies it in an efficient and workable form, of which I have some details. My information comes direct from a member of the law advisory commission, who permits me to make this announcement, but prefers that details should be withheld until the matter has further developed.

In Great Britain.

London, England, is the headquarters of an influential Proportional Representation Society, which is actively at work. Lord Avebury is president; Lord Courtney is chairman of committee; Mr. J. H. Humphreys, 107 Algernon road, Lewisham, S.E., is honorable secretary; and the general committee contains a long list of influential names. I shall give next month some particulars of the English work, which includes an interesting and valuable test election, in which about twelve thousand electors took part.

Next month I shall also have news from France and other centers of propaganda.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

Ottawa County, Ohio.

THE OTTAWA County Coöperative Company, headquarters at Rocky Ridge, Ohio, was organized in June, 1904, upon the Right-Relationship League plan. Two successful merchants in the town, who were inspired by high ideals, turned over their entire stocks of goods at appraised value, one consisting of groceries, boots and shoes, dry-goods, etc., and the other being a flourishing hardware and implement business. The company has been a success from the start. The first year the members were paid 8 per cent. dividend on money invested and 10 per cent. on purchases. The amount of business transacted for the year just ended was \$50,000.

Fredericksburg, Iowa.

THE FREDERICKSBURG Produce Association of Fredericksburg, Iowa, has issued its fifth annual report which shows the business for the year ending March 31, 1907, to be \$117,000. They shipped coöperatively thousands of hogs and cattle and 134 carloads of produce, and handled thousands of bushels of oats, corn and seed. The cost of doing business is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The members of the association are \$4,531 ahead in profits saved.

Dakota County, Minnesota.

THROUGHOUT Dakota county a system of coöperative stores at the chief trading points is being established. This plan has been encouraged by the success already achieved in Wisconsin, where the success of the elevator companies, the coöperative store companies, insurance companies, and especially of the Star Telephone Company have made the farmers eager to purchase stock in coöperative concerns.

Co-operative Department Store in Washington.

A LARGE number of government employés

in Washington have organized themselves under the name of "Government Clerks' Coöperative Guild," and propose to establish a general department store to be patronized exclusively by government clerks in the District of Columbia. The amount of capitalization will be \$250,000, at \$10 per share, and it is the intention to dispose of the stock to the 25,000 clerks on duty in this city. It is not the purpose to compete with local merchants by price-cutting but to charge the current prices and distribute any profits as dividends to the stockholders.

Co-operative Hotel Supply Company.

PROPRIETORS of large hotels and restaurants of New York city are considering the organization of a coöperative corporation which will deal in all kinds of hotel and restaurant supplies. It is expected that a company with \$10,000,000 capital will be organized. Stock in this corporation will be sold only to proprietors of hotels and restaurants.

New England Farming.

A NOVEL and most interesting meeting was held in Boston this spring at the headquarters of the State Board of Agriculture under the name of "New England Conference on Rural Progress." About twenty-five leaders in agricultural matters were present, including presidents and professors from the agricultural colleges, representatives of the state granges, boards of agriculture and departments of public instruction, and various other leaders in the work of civic betterment. Throughout the conference a great deal of emphasis was placed upon coöperative effort, between the farmers as individuals and between the state colleges and various agricultural bureaus as organizations, and the tremendous possibilities of such concerted action. The work of the granges

along coöperative lines was especially commended. It was predicted that there would be an end to the working of small farms; consolidation and combination will prevail, and the farmers will be organized for business coöperation.

New Co-operative Elevator Company.

THE CO-OPERATIVE elevator movement, a brief account of which was published in *THE ARENA* for April, is rapidly growing in Iowa. It is reported that there have been fifty coöperative societies formed this year, and there are now over 200 active farmers' coöperative associations in the state. It is estimated that over \$2,000,000 are invested in coöperative concerns by the farmers in Iowa alone. The latest added to the list is one at Wellsburg, where a company has been formed with a capital stock of \$10,000. The third elevator will be erected at that place by the new company.

Northwestern Coal and Dock Company.

VARIOUS coöperative elevators and creameries in the Northwest have organized coöperatively to supply fuel to their own concerns. Their company is known as the Northwestern Coöperative Coal & Dock Company, and has a capital stock of \$600,000. A large coal dock to cost \$100,000 will be built at Ashland, Wisconsin, for which the dock site of the Keystone Lumber Company, comprising a frontage of one-quarter of a mile on the bay shore, has been acquired, and it is expected that the plant now to be erected will be in readiness to receive coal from the lower lakes some time in August.

The Resurrection of The "C. B. U."

SOME of the people who lost some of their savings in the famous "Cash Buyers' Union" of Chicago, through the alleged peculations of Julius Kahn, have incorporated another "Cash Buyers' Union," with a capital of \$25,000. They intend to carry on a coöperative mail-order business and try to win back what they lost through Kahn's mismanagement and dishonesty.

Alliance, Ohio.

THE CO-OPERATIVE Store Company has been

organized at Alliance, Ohio, by about 400 railroad men and machinists, with a capital stock of \$20,000 to fight a combination in that city of milk, meat and grocery dealers. Commodities will be furnished stockholders at cost, plus 10 per cent. for operating expenses.

Viborg, South Dakota.

THE FARMERS of Viborg, South Dakota, have organized one of the largest farmers' mercantile coöperative associations in that state. The company has a capitalization of \$50,000.

Hillyard, Washington.

THE HILLYARD Coöperative Company of Hillyard, Washington, has just finished a very successful year. They have a fine brick store, the second floor of which is used as a large hall, erected at a cost of \$10,000, for which they are paying \$75 a month on the building and loan plan. During the year they did a business of \$91,300, and in spite of the fact that contrary to the usual custom of Rochdale stores they carried on a credit business which cost them \$2,220, during the three years that they have been organized, they have paid an average of 13 per cent. premium on paid-up stock and also 5 per cent. rebate on all members' purchases.

Hatton, Washington.

IN HATTON, Washington, there is a new coöperative grocery organization, stock in which is owned exclusively by the farmers in the vicinity. Nearly \$9,000 of the capital stock has been subscribed. It is planned to handle only staple lines of groceries at first and to handle more general lines as the demand increases.

Skamania, Washington.

A CO-OPERATIVE telephone company at Skamania, Washington, recently installed a cabinet switchboard which will accommodate 1,000 telephones. Coöperative telephones are becoming very popular among the farmers in this district.

Mill Valley, Washington.

EARLY this spring the Mill Valley Roch-

dale Company opened a promising store which carries a complete line of fancy and staple groceries, tinware, wood and willow ware. The first day's sales amounted to \$200 which was considered a great starter.

Edwall, Washington.

THE FARMERS about Edwall have formed an elevator company, and the capital stock of \$10,000 is fully subscribed.

Enumclaw, Washington.

THE LITTLE TOWN of Enumclaw, Washington, mentioned in the May ARENA, has such a large number of its institutions organized coöperatively that it ranks among the first in coöperative effort even among our western towns. They have a coöperative creamery, a fruit cannery and telephone lines, besides a coöperative store. The ninth annual report of their Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company shows a total membership of 1271. The amount of insurance in force January 1, 1907, was \$940,500; losses paid, \$220. The cost of insurance in this company for the entire period of its existence has been about 30 per cent. of stock company rates.

La Verne, California.

THE RANCHERS in and about La Verne, California, have a most successful coöperative organization known as the LaVerne Land & Water Company, which carries on the irrigation of a large territory covering about 41 square miles. This region is devoted exclusively to the raising of citrus fruits. During the past ten years \$225,000 have been expended in the development of its irrigation systems. Last year 865 carloads of fruit were shipped from this district.

Harrington, Washington.

THE HARRINGTON Rochdale Mercantile Association has been organized in Harrington, Washington, with a capital of \$25,000 fully subscribed.

Omaha, Nebraska.

ARTICLES of incorporation have been filed for the Farmers' Coöperative Creamery and Supply Company of Omaha. It is incorpor-

ated for \$1,000,000 and already has a paid-up stock of \$200,000.

N. O. Nelson at Oakland.

THE N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, an account of whose recent coöperative dividends of \$200,000 was given in the May ARENA, has established a large branch at Oakland, California.

Co-operative Delivery System.

THE BUTCHERS of Battle Creek, Michigan, and also those of Fremont, Ohio, have adopted a coöperative plan of delivering meat to their patrons, their primary object being economy of expenses. Flint, Michigan, is also about to adopt this system.

Santa Paula, California.

AT THE annual business meeting of the Santa Paula, California, Coöperative Association, the manager reported an increase of over \$11,000 in volume of business over any previous year. An annual dividend of 10 per cent. was declared, this being the eleventh year that such dividend has been paid.

Tulare Meat Market.

A CO-OPERATIVE meat market has been incorporated at Tulare, California, the object of which is to conduct a wholesale and retail butcher business and also to deal in live stock of all kinds. Membership fee is \$40.

Lumber Company in Minnesota.

THE LAKE MILLS Coöperative Lumber Company, Minnesota, reports a paid-up capital of \$2,020. Its assets are as follows: real estate \$4,000; lumber stock, \$8,000; accounts receivable, \$11,000; undivided surplus, \$4,000. During its 15 years of existence the company has sold \$605,000 worth of lumber and has paid out \$12,000 in dividends.

Ann Arbor Professors.

THE PROFESSORS of the University of Michigan propose to start a coöperative store similar to that of the students' coöperative organization which has been running very successfully for two years.

Green Mountain, Iowa.

A PARTICULARLY successful coöperative elevator is reported from Green Mountain, Iowa. During the ten months of its existence it has handled more than 340,000 bushels of grain, and although it started with part of its capital borrowed, it has paid off its debt and has a surplus of \$3,000 in its treasury.

Mitchell County, Iowa.

THE MITCHELL County Coöperative Association which deals in lumber and coal, stated at their annual meeting the amount of their resources to be over \$11,000; surplus, \$1,500; total amount of business transacted, \$84,000.

Eagle Grove, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Elevator and Supply Company of Eagle Grove, Iowa, which does a large grain and coal business, shows its total resources to be \$28,000. During the year 1935 were paid in dividends, and there is a surplus fund of \$3,000.

Boone, Iowa.

BOONE, Iowa, has a Farmers' Elevator and Live Stock Company which for the year ending March 31, 1907, transacted \$194,000 worth of business.

Caledonia, Michigan, Coal Mine.

THE CALEDONIA coal mine in the upper peninsula of Michigan, which is the only coöperative enterprise of its kind in the country, has been such a success that the company has broken ground for what will be the largest coal producer in the state.

Co-operative Flour Mill.

THE FARMERS in the neighborhood of Sweet, Idaho, have organized a coöperative flour mill with a capacity of 50 barrels a day. It is run by water-power and cost \$10,000.

Simonton, Tennessee.

THE FARMERS' Educational and Coöpera-

tive Union of Tennessee, which coöperates in the sale of cotton and farm products, has organized a coöperative store at Simonton, Tennessee, known as the "Farmers' Coöperative Company," capital stock, \$15,000.

Saline, Michigan.

THE SALINE Coöperative Company of Saline, Michigan, was organized about one year ago with 15 charter members. At present, the membership has been increased to 80. During the first year their profits were 40 per cent. on par value of stock. Trade has increased to such an extent that they are about to seek larger quarters and better facilities.

Massachusetts Co-operative Banks.

THE ANNUAL report of the Massachusetts bank commissioner gives a most successful showing for the coöperative banks of the state for the year ending October 31, 1906. There are 133 of these banks in Massachusetts with assets of \$42,600,000, nearly 90 per cent. of which is loaned to members of the associations on their homes. The increase in the assets of the banks during the year was about \$4,000,000, the largest in their history. They now have 104,482 members, an increase of 9,195 during the year. Their expense ratio for the year was about .43 per cent., while the expense ratio of all the local building and loan associations in the United States in 1905 was .87 per cent., from which it is apparent that the Massachusetts coöperative banks are being very economically conducted.

Co-operative Finance in New York.

THE STATE Superintendent of Banks for New York reports for the year 1906, 262 coöperative banks or building and loan associations in the state, assets \$43,500,000, an increase during the year of nearly \$1,000,000. The expense ratio of banks is limited in New York state to 2½ per cent. The operating expenses of the coöperative banks was .75 per cent. while the national banks exceeded the legal limit their expenses being 2.56 per cent.

"THE TURN OF THE BALANCE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

THIS work, dealing with the miseries of our society almost as vividly as Hugo dealt with the same class in his masterpiece, is the most important novel, considered from the view-point of ethics, that has appeared this year. It is as strong in moral value, as compelling in its message, and as true to present-day conditions as were the great works of Charles Dickens which uncovered the evil conditions of London in the nineteenth century.

The Turn of the Balance is vividly realistic—almost as much so as are the best works of Zola; but it is free—entirely free—from the damning blot on the great Frenchman's work. Here is none of the grossness or sensualism that so marked and marred Zola's powerful creations and made them dangerous reading for the morally weak or the viciously inclined.

The Turn of the Balance is a tragedy of colossal proportions. But is it true? That is the question over which the battle will be fought. When Dickens exposed the terrible conditions which prevailed in the treatment of the poor and unfortunate in English life, he raised a storm of protest. It was denied that his presentations were true. On every hand the reading public was assured that his pictures were gross exaggerations—merely grotesque caricatures of conditions which existed. But the great novelist had the facts on his side. His pictures were true, and his method of uncovering them was so direct, forcible, sincere and convincing that he aroused the sleeping conscience of the nation and led men to investigate the treatment of the orphans, the paupers, those in prison for debt, and others in the great under-world of society with the result that a revolutionary reform was inaugurated, as far-reaching as it was beneficent in character.

When Upton Sinclair had prepared his novel, *The Jungle*, uncovering the conditions which he had found by personal investigation

to exist in the beef-packing industry, much of the story was so incredible in character that the publishers refused to consider the volume until they had sent an attorney to Chicago to personally investigate the facts. This lawyer, after two weeks of carefully looking into the evidence on which the story was based, said to the publishers: "Print the book. You will be safe in doing so." But when it appeared, the conservative and conventional press no less than the interests whose evil work was exposed, strove first to ignore and then to discredit the story. As in the case of Dickens, so with Sinclair, the public was assured that the story was as absurd as it was revolting and impossible. One great weekly journal, usually very progressive in character, declared that the exaggerations were so great that the author's purpose must be defeated. This was also the claim, it is said, that was made by the heads of the government department who had the inspection of meat in charge, and the Illinois politicians at Washington were vociferous in denouncing the work as a slander on a great industry. We imagine that no one was more astonished at the report of the committee appointed by the President to investigate the truth of the allegations of *The Jungle* than was Mr. Roosevelt himself; but that investigation proved the truth of the facts that had been brought out so clearly that it only required the threat on the part of the President to publish all the evidence which had come before the committee, instead of only the things the commissioners personally saw in hastily passing through the works, to force the passage of the Beveridge rider through the hostile Senate.

So with this book. The machine politicians and the conventional and conservative upholders of the materialistic ideals dominant at present will claim that this work is an exaggeration of facts, vicious because untrue. But Mr. Whitlock's book is the child of a clear brain and a warm heart. It is the offspring of a soul full of the love that made the life of Christ the most sublime embodiment of the divine afflatus the earth has ever seen. It is

*The Turn of the Balance. By Brand Whitlock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 622. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

a book that would have made glad the great heart of the Golden Rule mayor of Toledo, the noble predecessor of Mr. Whitlock, and he who reads the last pages of *The Turn of the Balance* will realize how deeply the life, example and teachings of Samuel M. Jones have been impressed on the life of the author of this powerful novel.

II.

Two typical families occupy a large place in the foreground of the story, as do also two young lawyers who are equally typical in character. One of these, John Eades, the ambitious young prosecuting attorney, is wonderfully well drawn. He represents a class of men in public life, unhappily very common since the materialism of present business life has in so large a way dominated the public conscience. His ambition is to convict every person who is suspected of crime that he can bring before the courts. The question of whether or not the accused is guilty, the multitudinous modifying and extenuating circumstances that are often present, and the difference between accidental offenders or victims of untoward circumstances, and professional criminals, are taken little into consideration by John Eades. He is ambitious to win as many cases as possible, as that means increased popularity and political prestige. He uses the court as a vast machinery, and in his hands justice is not only blind, but lacking in intelligent discernment, and thus often becomes the incarnation of injustice, as, owing to the blind, machine-like action of her representative, the weak victim of a momentary impulse, but whose whole previous life has been honorable and law-abiding, receives condemnation which results in the blasting of all future life—a condemnation that virtually consigns the chance offender to a life of poverty and crime.

The other young lawyer, Gordon Marriott, has not surrendered the higher for the lower. He has yielded to the dictates of conscience, the sentiments of justice, the ideal of right, regardless of personal advancement or selfish interests, and during the story he battles against the brutal and essentially unjust elements in the machinery of law and the prison system, which so often increase the criminal element in society.

The two typical families of the romance, the Wards and the Kørners, represent the wealthy and the poor. Mr. Ward is a

broker, a man of large means, conducting his business along lines that are, conventionally considered, strictly honorable. His son Dick has been petted and coddled from early youth by his shallow mother and indulgent father. He has grown to manhood the victim of every kind of youthful excess. He drinks, gambles and is impure; yet at every step he is defended by the indiscreet mother whose heart is hard and relentless toward all unfortunates and all offenders outside of her own narrow home circle. Indeed, Mrs. Ward is a well-drawn representative of the frivolous, selfish egoist of present-day society life. She is wrapped up in self and in her son. Her chief concern is to conform to the dictates of a hollow and soulless society.

Elizabeth, the daughter, and heroine of the story, is by nature a fine, true-hearted girl, whose character has been dwarfed and deformed by the false and artificial conditions that have environed her, but who ever reaches out for something better and nobler to satisfy the deathless hunger of her soul.

Her beautiful little maid, Gusta Kørner, is the daughter of a hard-working German laborer, who early in the story, after more than thirty years of faithful service for the railroad company, sustains a serious injury by being run over by an engine. One of his legs has to be amputated and he is therefore rendered a permanent invalid. Gusta is a bright, beautiful, shallow child, with a passion for beautiful things and a great admiration for the rich; but she is good at heart, though weak; a child of the people, no stronger or weaker than tens of thousands of other girls in similar conditions of life to-day.

Another member of the Kørner family is Archie, the son. He has entered the army and has served in the Philippines, where he won a medal for good marksmanship. But as war is legal murder and as such is essentially brutalizing in its subtle influence over the mind, so the profession of soldier, taking men out of the ranks of useful employment, is morally disintegrating, and Archie Kørner returns from the Philippines weakened in his moral fiber and having lost his aptitude for steady, industrious labor. He becomes the hero of a company of somewhat lawless youths in the lower portion of the city, and from yielding to one temptation advances on the downward path until he is arrested as one of a company of boys charged with steal-

ing a box of sardines. He has now reached the turning point and is ready to withdraw from his life of indolence with its downward pressure towards crime. His salvation calls for discipline under morally wholesome surroundings. Civilization thrusts him into a vile cell and environs him with degrading influences. When he is tried and convicted on circumstantial evidence, he is imprisoned with a hardened criminal, a professional safe-breaker. Here he lives in a criminal atmosphere and is daily, hourly, schooled in crime, with the natural result that when once released from prison and finding the door of his home closed against him, he becomes the companion of his prison-mate and embarks in a life of crime.

The disablement of the father and the disgrace of the son are followed by the ruin of the beautiful girl by Dick Ward, who consigns her to the social hell.

The story opens in the Wards' home. The two young lawyers are striving for the hand of the beautiful daughter, Elizabeth, but the masterful young prosecuting attorney, with a brilliant future opening before him, seems to have all the advantages on his side. He is a strict conformist to social usages and a great stickler for the letter of the law. One of the clerks in Mr. Ward's establishment, in a moment of excitement during a sudden rise in stocks, has embezzled a sum from Mr. Ward which he has lost in speculation. It is his first offense. He has been a faithful, honorable, capable and efficient young man. He is the support of an invalid mother—her sole support. But in this moment of weakness he has yielded to temptation. He pleads for leniency. Mr. Ward has it in his power to let the youth have another trial, but the district attorney insists on his playing the part of a good citizen and appearing against the youth in the courts. This he does. The boy is convicted and sent to the penitentiary. The mother's support is withdrawn and the crushing blow which comes with the conviction causes her death. The youth, after his term in the penitentiary, emerges with the prison pallor on his face. He is alone in the world. He finds it impossible to get employment of any kind with his record staring him in the face. He begs ineffectively. He is soon lost in the dark abyss.

In the course of time Dick Ward, who has been stationed in a bank, embezzles a large

sum, more than twenty times as much as the unfortunate employé of his father had hypothecated. The banker, in the interests of law and order, gives the facts to the district attorney, but owing to the fact that the father promptly offers restitution for the money, and that the banker himself is found to be engaged in criminal practices, Dick Ward goes free.

Surrounded by the tragedies, the hollowness and the ghastly injustice which confront her at every turn, Elizabeth Ward gropes toward the light. She vainly struggles to do something by working with the associated charities, only to find out what a farce much of that work is. "Organized," as she well puts it, "not to help the poor, but to help the rich to forget the poor, to keep the poor at a distance, where they can't reproach you and prick your conscience. The Organized Charities is an institution for the benefit of the unworthy rich."

Meanwhile poor old Koerner has learned that a rich corporation can usually defeat the ends of justice and equity. He is fought at every step in his attempt to get damages for an accident which clearly resulted from the railroad's disregard of legal requirements. When finally he wins in the lower court, the case is appealed and carried up until it reaches judges who have long been corporation attorneys, and in the end the old man is denied justice.

Archie Koerner, through the continued influence of evil associates, the pressure of society, and the injustice and shortsightedness on the part of the courts, is pressed steadily downward in his career of crime. Finally a horrible murder is committed—a murder with which the young man has nothing whatever to do. But as the police are powerless to find any clue to the real offender, and as the papers are clamoring against the department of justice for its inefficiency, the chief of police insists upon the officials arresting someone at once. Archie has recently come out of prison, and an officer of the courts, who from the very first has hounded him, knowing he is out of prison, believes he will visit his mother; so he lies in wait for him and finally gives him chase. The boy, after eluding the officer for a time, is finally entrapped and surrounded by the police. Caught at bay and exasperated by the taunts of his nemesis, the boy shoots the officer. John Eades, in order to get the youth elec-

trocuted, uses the horrible murder to influence the minds of the jury, although there is not a scintilla of evidence that the youth had anything to do with the murder. In this way he succeeds in gaining his end. The boy is sentenced and electrocuted.

All these tragic things are told simply but with great power, while the story of Archie is made the occasion for lifting the veil and revealing the inferno of criminality to be found in our great cities and the struggle of the forces of law against the exiles of society, when the government forces and the pillars of society are not in partnership with the democracy of darkness.

Through the story runs the strong love interest in the wooing of Elizabeth by John Eades and Gordon Marriott; and, as we have observed, the gradual development of the character of the girl is unfolded, as she passes from the darkness into the light and experiences a spiritual awakening, with the

result that she drifts from the influence of Eades and moves naturally toward Gordon Marriott, who so finely personifies the conscience-guided man, the child of the higher law, the servant of a dawning civilization in which justice shall mean more than an idle word and love shall be the master-spirit of life.

The story, at once so powerful, gloomy and profoundly disquieting, ends in the sunshine in so far as it relates to its nobler characters.

The book is as strong and purposeful as *The Jungle*, and as literature it is a more finished creation. It is a distinctly great novel, presenting a vivid and effective picture of the miseries of our social order,—the weak, the unfortunate, the helpless and the criminals. But it is instinct with moral idealism that is redemptive in character; it shadows forth the larger life; it palpitates with the spirit of the Golden Rule.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

SOME IMPORTANT RECENT WORKS ON PSYCHIC SCIENCE.

The Psychic Riddle. By I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 244. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Borderland of Psychical Research. By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 426. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death. By Frederic W. H. Myers. Edited and abridged by his son, Leopold H. Myers. Cloth. Pp. 470. Price, \$3.00 net, postage, 20 cents. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

Proofs of Life After Death. By Robert J. Thompson. Cloth. Pp. 366. Price, \$1.50 net, postage, 12 cents. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

TO ONE who has followed the progress of the new psychology and psychic science during the past thirty years, the changes that have taken place in the attitude

of the public are very interesting. Thirty years ago spiritualism was a flourishing religion. It had a well-sustained and vigorously aggressive press, a large and growing literature and a number of well-attended societies. But at that time the scientific world and the church were aggressive and all but a unit in their uncompromising hostility. When Alfred Russel Wallace and Professor William Crookes, after long personal investigation of psychical phenomena were forced to accept the claims of the spiritualistic hypothesis, they were almost ostracized for a time by the scientific and literary world. The church was as hostile and intolerant as was the great majority of the evolutionary and materialistic scientists. After a period of almost phenomenal growth in the face of bitter and combined opposition, spiritualism as an organized religious movement began rapidly to decline. This was doubtless largely due to the fact that spiritualism had no creed and no compact organization in a time when the current of society had set strongly in favor of united, coöperated and close organizations. It insisted on the largest possible liberty for the

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

individual, and in this respect resembled that other great liberal religious organization which arose in the nineteenth century—Unitarianism, a church but loosely held together and with no special creed. Both these organizations represented decentralization in a period when a strong current had set in in favor of centralization. Consequently as organizations both have largely waned, but the influence of their theories and views has probably more largely permeated the thinking element of society, in and out of the church, than any other distinctive religious movements of the nineteenth century. Spiritualism was also greatly handicapped and weakened by the unquestioning credulity of many of its followers and the unscientific attitude taken by some of its leading papers, which were often found defending psychics or mediums that had been exposed and whose actions were certainly on many occasions of the most questionable character.

While, however, spiritualism as an organized religious body began to wane, the interest in psychical phenomena from without was immensely stimulated by the serious investigations of a large number of thoughtful persons who in many instances began their investigations for the purpose of demonstrating that the alleged phenomena, when not fraud, were susceptible of explanation on the hypothesis of telepathy. These investigators usually soon encountered phenomena which could not be explained on either of the above hypotheses.

Finally the English Society for Psychical Research, composed of a large number of the more thoughtful scientists of Great Britain, Europe and America, was organized, and this body, with its American branch, has for a quarter of a century steadily, persistently and uninterruptedly prosecuted its research in the most scientific and painstaking manner. Among its active members have been many of the foremost psychologists, physical scientists and acute investigators in various special lines—men like Professor Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Dr. Charles Richet, Cesare Lombroso, and Professor William James.

It was not long before the investigations of this society attracted world-wide attention among the more thoughtful people. William E. Gladstone, a short time before his death, said, in speaking of the work of this society: "It is the most important work which is being done in the world to-day—by far the

most important." And to-day we find a large and constantly growing number of thinkers of the first rank in every land giving the most earnest consideration to this subject: while the great number of extremely able books that are appearing almost monthly from the presses of the leading houses, dealing with this subject, speaks in an eloquent manner of the growing popular interest.

Thus to-day we are confronted by a condition almost diametrically opposed to that which prevailed from 1850 to 1880. It will be remembered that Victor Hugo severely criticized the intolerance of science in the presence of psychical research, and some of the leading spiritualists of thirty years ago earnestly strove to show the religious leaders that with the steady advance of a soul-deadening materialism in society and even in the church, religion would find in psychic phenomena a powerful argument in favor of the doctrine of a future life. Religious leaders at that time, however, were not in a mood apparently to accept this suggestion, but to-day we find a growing tendency on the part of the more thoughtful members of the clergy to join in scientific investigations of a phenomenon which promises to be a powerful weapon in the attempt to beat back the forces of materialism.

We have before us four very notable volumes which have recently reached our office for review, and which well represent the growing interest in psychical research. The first which we shall notice is *The Psychic Riddle*, by the Rev. I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. For many years Dr. Funk has been the master spirit in a great orthodox religious publishing house and the editor of those important religious journals, *The Homiletic Review* and *The Missionary Review*. He was also editor-in-chief of *The Standard Dictionary*. If twenty years ago one had predicted that this great Lutheran clergyman would become one of the ablest and most critical yet broadly sympathetic investigators of spiritual phenomena, he would have been derided by nine out of ten readers of Dr. Funk's able publications. Yet in recent years this prominent clergyman has become one of the most earnest and efficient investigators of psychical phenomena in the New World. His former work, *The Widow's Mite*, published a few years since, was one of the best semi-scientific discussions of this great question that has appeared. Like everything written by Dr. Funk, it was

highly interesting; but it was far more than a fascinating volume. It was an important contribution to the literature of the new psychology—the literature dealing with a realm that even yet must be regarded as a dark continent whose shores alone have been but partially explored.

His new work, *The Psychic Riddle*, though not so large as the former book, is, we think, even more interesting and important than *The Widow's Mite*. In it, from first to last, the reader feels he is in the company of a critical investigator who is at once shrewdly skeptical yet sympathetic and open to conviction.

The work contains six chapters, the first two of which are largely concerned with the views of eminent men in regard to psychical phenomena and the reasons why the scientific study of this subject should be encouraged. Dr. Funk, without himself accepting the spiritualistic hypothesis, refers to the astounding drift toward its acceptance on the part of master scientists—such men as Cesare Lombroso of Italy and Charles Richet, the most famous physicist of France, both of whom have been forced by their investigations to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis, as years before Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and Professor William Crookes were driven to the same conclusion after long personal investigations. Indeed, our author is amazed at the radical temper of the great scientists. He says:

"It is almost startling to one so conservative as I am to see how far really some of the ablest of the world's scientists now go. Sir William Crookes, accepting the presidency of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1898, in the presence of that august body did not hesitate to say that he had seen no reason to change his reports of actual spirit materializations witnessed and photographed by himself in his own home. In the April number, 1906, of the *Annals of Psychical Science*—published simultaneously in Paris and London—that chiefest of French physicists, Charles Richet, hotly defended his recent marvelous reports of materialization séances which he tells us he witnessed under test conditions a short time before in Algiers—wonderful phenomena, spirits actually taking form so as to be seen and heard and handled. These extraordinary marvels Richet reported over his own name in a scientific magazine published under the direc-

tion of a committee made up of such well-known scientists as Sir William Crookes, Cesare Lombroso of Italy, Dr. Joseph Maxwell of France, Sir Oliver Lodge, men of international fame as trained scientists."

Dr. Funk is very insistent in urging his readers to divest their minds of the idea that the present world-wide interest in psychical research is due to ignorance, superstition or an unscientific temper born of man's desire to believe that the loved dead still exist. "The reader throughout the perusal of these strange stories," he says, "should bear in mind that it is not superstition, that it is not ignorance that is now pressing this psychic question upon the public mind; instead, it is the experience and observations and reasonings of such trained scientists as Lombroso of Italy; Richet and Flammarion and Maxwell of France; Crookes, Lodge and Wallace of England; Hyslop, James and (until his recent death) Hodgson of America."

His attitude throughout is that of a truly scientific man who believes that the riddles of the universe are here to be solved by man and for man's advantage.

"Let us," he says, "keep our souls in patience and our brains wholly sane. It is well to remember that electricity for twenty-three hundred years yielded scarcely any recognizable phenomena. Yes, amber could be excited a little by its electric current, and it could be made to raise the hair on a manikin. Yes, yes, currents sent through the foot of a frog would curiously contort it, which gained for the scientific discoverer of the fact the derisive nickname of 'The Frog's Dancing Master.' But little electricity was believed to be obtainable, and those who believed it something more than a trick did not venture to think that it would ever be anything more than a toy or curiosity. But now the laws are somewhat understood and this force, though only partially controlled and harnessed, does a goodly share of the world's work."

Of his own personal attitude he observes:

"Now understand me. I do not say that Spiritualism has been scientifically demonstrated. I say exactly the contrary, believing that we are many miles distant from such a demonstration. What I do say is that such a demonstration is to my mind, after nearly thirty years of investigation, far more likely

than are the probabilities that Spiritualism is not true; that the proofs in favor of its truth are much stronger than those against it; that to-day, as the proofs stand, a man is more logical, more sane, in accepting the Spiritualistic belief of the communion of spirits through the physical sensories than he is in rejecting it. In my judgment he to-day is wrong in either accepting or rejecting it."

☐ Chapters three, four and five deal with special experiments, many of them conducted by Dr. Funk himself, one chapter being devoted to the messages that claim to come from Dr. Richard Hodgson. Another highly interesting division deals with independent voices, and embraces Dr. Funk's somewhat extended personal investigations of this phase of the general investigation of psychical phenomena. Chapter five deals with "Typical Cases of Several Classes of Psychic Phenomena"; while the last chapter considers "Some Things that Seem Proven and Some Things that Seem Not Proven."

The general reader will find the entire volume as fascinating and compelling as romance, and to any person interested in psychical research it will be far more interesting than a well written novel. Dr. Funk is, we think, doing a very important service to the cause of religious advancement no less than to scientific progress, for in our age, when the dead hand of materialism is falling so heavily on church and society, all evidence that points to a continuance of life after the change we call death should receive serious attention.

In *Borderland of Psychical Research*, James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D., who was formerly professor of logic in Columbia University, and who since the death of Dr. Richard Hodgson has been ably carrying forward his great work, contributes another important volume to the literature of psychical research prepared for the general reader. This work shows something of the complex character of and the difficulties attending psychical investigation. In his opening words the professor strikes the key-note of the volume when he observes:

"I have here written on the more conservative side of the general question, and so have taken pains to show why it is necessary to be cautious about admitting supernormal phenomena. The book is devoted mainly to

normal and abnormal psychology, with philosophical reflections bearing upon the problems of both. It is intended, of course, that it shall be helpful to all who sympathize with the present movement to investigate the residual phenomena of mind, and yet do not understand how they may be connected with the accepted doctrines of traditional knowledge. To the present writer all new facts and theories must, in some way, find an assimilation with previous knowledge, and however great the departure involved in the discovery of the new, it must have some point of contact with the old. The present work, therefore, should serve as a preparation for the consideration of supernormal problems, especially upon the evidential side."

The book is very conservative in character, so much as at times almost to suggest the man who in his effort to stand straight was wont to lean over backwards. Still, such cautious and skeptical attitude is valuable on the part of scientists when they essay to explore a dark continent or to sail on an uncharted sea.

In the twelve chapters that constitute the work the following subjects are treated: "Sense Perception," "Interpreting and Associating Functions of the Mind," "Memory," "Dissociation and Obliviscence," "Illusions," "Hallucinations," "Pseudo-Spiritistic Phenomena," "Subconscious Action and Secondary Personality," "Mind and Body," "Hypnotism and Therapeutics," "Reincarnation," and "Reservations and Morals."

The spirit of the work is, as we have observed, rigidly critical; yet the author is no pessimist. He himself has been forced to entertain views which for years he did not accept. In the closing pages of this work we find the following lines:

"We are passing through the reactionary period against the exclusive otherworldliness of the past centuries, and as it has become a mark of intelligence to disbelieve all that the religious ages held sacred, we must expect scientific Philistines to parade their peculiar wisdom as the last word of omniscience. When the materialistic cycle has run its course and civilization has ended in repeating the experience of Sodom and Gomorrah, we shall expect sober thinking to begin again. We shall then learn what the larger view of the universe for a spiritual life means, and listen

to the advice which experience has always shown us in regard to the value of the belief which may even reconcile men to a life of pain and suffering. . . . I believe that the evidence for a future life is sufficient to make it the only rational hypothesis to account for the facts, but I do not believe that we have reached that amount of scientific proof which is necessary to make the belief general in the minds of the intellectual classes. The duty lies in further investigation, until its perplexities, which are many, have been removed. This is the necessary step in the establishment of a conviction that carries in its flux the destinies of the coming ages in their resurrection from the materialism of all our present life."

In the abridged edition of Frederic W. H. Myers' fundamental work, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, we have one of the most valuable contributions that has been made to the literature of psychic science. Many readers of THE ARENA will remember our extended review or book-study of Professor Myers' unabridged work when it appeared. It was an exhaustive treatise, filling two large volumes and published at a price prohibitory to many people. In it was marshaled the vast array of evidence on which the author's careful arguments and reasonings were based—evidence that might be said to be the very cream of authoritative data compiled during nineteen years of arduous labor of the English Society for Psychical Research, in which work from its inception Professor Myers had been one of the most untiring and efficient laborers. The author of this great work appreciated the fact that the exhaustive character of his treatise, while immensely important to students who had the time to devote to the subject, rendered it too lengthy for the general reader. He anticipated the demand for an abridged edition and indicated in many instances parts that might be omitted. His untimely death prevented him from preparing the abridged edition, but this work has now been most admirably performed by his gifted son, Leopold Hamilton Myers. The very extensive appendices to each chapter in the former work have been liberally but judiciously curtailed, and such other matter as could be omitted without material injury has been dispensed with, in order to bring the present work down to less than five hundred pages. Only those familiar

with the difficulties of such labor can realize what it meant to thus condense a work of between thirteen hundred and fourteen hundred pages in such a manner as to present each argument and sufficient evidential material to sustain and illustrate the author's contention. This has been achieved in an exceptionally happy manner by young Mr. Myers, with the result that we have here a work costing but one-fourth the price of the unabridged edition, yet containing the matter of special interest and worth to the general reader.

The work treats of "Disintegrations of Personality," "Genius," "Sleep," "Hypnotism," "Sensory Automatism," "Phantasms of the Dead," "Motor Automatism," and "Trance, Possession and Ecstasy." And here is also an epilogue in which the author, after indicating his own views, based on his investigations, passes to a deeply thoughtful argument on the grave importance of the great work to which he had dedicated his life. He recognized the fact that the authority of creeds and church was rapidly falling, but he believed that the result of the labors of the scientific psychical researchers would give new impetus to faith and raise "even higher than now the highest ideals of man."

This last discussion is, it seems to us, one of the noblest essays of our age—an essay that it would be well indeed if every clergyman could be induced to read.

Proofs of Life After Death, which has just been brought out by Herbert B. Turner & Company, is an interesting and important work compiled by Robert J. Thompson and embracing opinions as to a future life given by many scientists, psychical researchers, philosophers and eminent spiritualists, among whom are such thinkers as Professor N. S. Shaler, Professor Charles Richet, Camille Flammarion, Professor Brunot, Sir William Crookes, Professor Th. Flournoy, Professor Elmer Gates, Professor William James, Dr. Paul Joire, Dr. Lombroso, Professor S. Newcomb, Professor Hyslop, Dr. M. J. Savage, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Alfred Russel Wallace, Cardinal Gibbons, Andrew Lang, and others scarcely less eminent. Many of these distinguished thinkers contributed especially to this symposium, and their views and opinions will be read with deep interest. The work, however, was prepared in 1901 or 1902, and things have moved so rapidly in

the world of psychic research since it was compiled, that the views of some of the investigators have become much more pronounced than they were when they contributed to the symposium. This is notably the fact in the case of Cesare Lombroso. When he contributed to Mr. Thompson's work he did not consider the question of a future life as solved by any means, though he thought the probabilities were in favor of such contention. But in the January issue of the *Grand Magazine* of the present year, Professor Lombroso announces his firm conviction of the truth of the spiritualistic hypothesis. But in spite of the fact that in a few instances the thinkers who wrote for the symposium or whose opinions are here cited, have advanced to more positive grounds since the book was compiled, it is a volume of real merit, not the least interesting part being the writings of Mr. Thompson introducing the subject and the different groups of thinkers. There is also a very suggestive chapter near the close of the work, entitled "Immortality from a New Standpoint," by Professor Elmer Gates.

The work, which is handsomely printed, is a volume that will prove helpful to students of life who are seeking further light on the question of the ancient Arabian poet: "If a man die, shall he live again?"

East of Suez. By F. C. Penfield. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 350. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS volume is written in a bright, entertaining manner, and though the author describes lands with which the intelligent public has been made somewhat familiar by the works of a number of recent travelers, it contains much new matter and the general descriptions are sufficiently graphic and readable to make the book attractive even to those who have followed other world wanderers to the territory here described—Ceylon, India, China and Japan.

Mr. Penfield is more than a sight-seer. He looks at these countries from the view-point of an American with keen commercial instincts, and many of his most vigorous pages are devoted to a plea for a great merchant marine to develop the important markets of the East in the interests of our Republic. It is unfortunate, however, that he did not pursue his subject a little farther and show why America, which had once so great a merchant

marine, lost her prestige; for we think that by a restoration of the old conditions, as has been so clearly pointed out by Captain W. W. Bates, our commercial marine would again assume a leading place, and that without resort to any vicious subsidy steal which would further rob the people to enrich a few Wall-street gamblers and trust magnates, without beginning to stimulate American commerce as would a restoration of the old order. Subsidies in France and elsewhere have signally failed to produce the desired results, while they have drawn from the people's sustenance to enrich a favored few.

The present work is beautifully illustrated and well printed. It is one of the best books of travel of the year.

A Conspectus of American Biography. Half Russia. Pp. 450. Price, \$10.00. New York: James T. White & Company.

WHILE this work is of special interest and value to subscribers to *The National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, as here is found a full index to that work, still it also contains a vast amount of important information that is extremely valuable for reference purposes, relating to American history and the men who have made our Republic what it is. Thus, for example, we have the delegates of all the important congresses preceding the establishment of the Republic; the presidents, vice-presidents and the cabinet officers of the United States, from the administration of Washington to the present time; all the senators, congressmen, governors of the various states, judges of the Supreme Court, United States ambassadors, envoys and ministers, and the heads of the various departments of government, from the organization of the Republic to the present time. A list of all the presidents who have occupied the chairs of 125 leading colleges and universities is also given. The heads of the various religious bodies and scientific bodies are presented with a classified list of eminent Americans in various walks of life. There are also several special features of interest, as for example, the last words of great Americans and an anniversary calendar containing eight thousand and notable events and birthdays in our history and biography.

The volume is of special value for reference purposes.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

TWO EXCEPTIONALLY ABLE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS: We this month present some papers on social and economic matters that it should be the pleasure and duty of all friends of free institutions and progressive democracy to see circulated and widely read. If every reader of *THE ARENA* should get some friend to read and discuss with him or her the paper by JAMES MACKAYE on *Democracy and Socialism*, Professor FRANK FROST ABBOTT's story of the development of two oligarchies, and the editorials relating to the war between popular government and class rule, a great and vital work would be accomplished for genuine democracy. Especially do we wish to call the attention of every reader to the masterly essay on *Democracy and Socialism*, by JAMES MACKAYE. It is, in our judgment, the most lucid and most important magazine article dealing with the fundamental distinctions between reactionary class-rule and popular government that has appeared in years. It is better calculated to clear the public mind of the confusion born of a systematic attempt on the part of the enemies of the Republic who are seeking to overthrow popular rule, to befog the issues and prevent the people from realizing the imperative next steps demanded by a genuinely democratic government, than a whole library of ordinary economic discussions. Mr. MACKAYE is a Harvard graduate, a practical chemist, and one of the most rigidly logical thinkers that has in generations discussed political economy in an exhaustive manner. His great work, *The Economy of Happiness*, is without question one of the most fundamental and masterly works on political economy that has ever appeared. Professor ABBOTT's paper is as suggestive in its message as it is timely in character. The author is a graduate of Yale college, from which institution he holds the degree of doctor of philosophy. He has for some years been a member of the faculty of the Chicago University and is the author of a number of able works, probably the most important being *A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions*.

Modern Germany—Mad? In Mr. GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK's paper we have an admirable complement to the notable paper by our special correspondent, MAYNARD BUTLER, which appeared last month. Mr. VIERECK is one of America's most promising poetic writers. He is a journalist and critic of fine discrimination and his searching review and exposé of the morbid and erotic wave that is sweeping over Germany is well worthy of careful consideration. Next month we shall continue our series of papers on present-day Germany by giving a luminous and informing sketch of the great German Liberal democratic leader, THEODOR BAETH, who at the present time is visiting the Anglo-Saxon nations making a personal study of liberal institutions. This paper has been prepared for us by MAYNARD BUTLER.

Plant Consciousness: One of the most interesting discoveries of modern times has been the revelations that have shown our universe to be throbbing with life and that the relation between the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms is far closer than used to be supposed. The scientific study of plant life has revealed many wonderful facts. Several of them are presented in a fascinating manner by ARTHUR SMITH in his fine paper dealing with the brain power in plants.

Dr. Thomas on World-Peace: Few men among religious thinkers of the New World have engaged more tirelessly in the work of broadening the religious concepts and bringing the loving spirit of the great Nazarene to take the place of the spirit of controversy of creedal theology, than has Dr. THOMAS. He was a master-spirit in the work that eventuated in the World's Parliament of Religions, and he has labored with great fervor in forwarding the movement for world-peace. Dr. THOMAS is a profound thinker, a true metaphysician, who possesses the philosopher's keen vision that enables him to see below the surface to the basic facts involved. In his timely paper which we publish this month on *World-Peace* he writes as a deep thinker dealing with the great fundamental verities relating to world-peace and progress.

Why I Am a Christian Socialist: Rev. J. O. BENTALL, Ph.D., who writes on *Why I Am a Christian Socialist*, is a graduate of Chicago University. He was a prominent Baptist clergyman, but his study of the life and teachings of the great Nazarene and his contact with the materialism of present-day Christian society recently led him to take a position very similar to that occupied by Canon CHARLES KINGSLEY and FREDERICK D. MAURICE more than half a century ago, when in England they founded the Christian Socialist movement. Dr. BENTALL is one of the editors of *The Christian Socialist* of Chicago and he is at the head of an important religious socialistic movement, the parent society of which meets every Sunday in the Masonic Temple in Chicago. At these meetings Dr. BENTALL usually expounds what he conceives to be the religion of Christ and its social message.

The Educational Value of a Great Exposition: Professor FRANK WEBSTER SMITH contributes a valuable and, in view of the present Jamestown Exposition, a very timely paper on *The Educational Value of a Great Exposition*, taking the last great world's fair, which was held at St. Louis, as a concrete object lesson. He presents a number of facts that will appeal to all thinking men and women, and especially will they be of value to teachers and parents. All persons contemplating attending the Jamestown Exhibition should carefully read this paper.

Mr. Pratt on Child-Labor: Mr. PRATT's discussion of "Child-Labor" may be said to present the ideas held by the child-hiring class. We do not know that Mr. PRATT has any financial interest whatsoever in factories or in any enterprises in which child-labor is employed; but his sympathies are, we think, with those who hold that Southern factories are helpful rather than injurious to the child employes. We do not for a moment agree with Mr. PRATT's views on child-labor. We hold that child-labor is a double crime: a crime against the child and a crime against the republic of to-morrow. The child has an inalienable right to enjoy freedom, pure air and conditions that make for the full development of the physical organism during the formative period of life. Indeed, this is a condition requisite to proper physical health and a sound mind such as alone can produce full-orbed manhood and womanhood. Anything that interferes with or takes from this natural freedom robs the child of his rightful heritage and impairs the citizenship of to-morrow.

Mongolian Immigration and the British Colonies: In Mr. C. B. GALBREATH's deeply thoughtful paper it will be seen that the attitude of the Pacific coast in regard to Mongolian immigration is very similar to the views long entertained by the British Colonies wherever there has been a large influx of Orientals. But Great Britain has been more tactful and diplomatic in her method of treating this delicate subject than have our citizens of the Western coast.

Mr. Frank F. Stone on the London Election: Mr. FRANK F. STONE, the well-known English sculptor who has of late resided in southern California, on account of the healthful climate, has kept in intimate touch with London politics, and his numerous correspondents have given him full and detailed accounts of the methods and tactics of the reactionary and plutocratic forces during the recent campaign. With these facts in hand Mr. STONE gives us an admirable pen-picture of the campaigns of misrepresentation and the systematic methods by which corrupt wealth seeks to defeat the interests of the people. The tactics employed in the Old World are very familiar to us in the New, but they have probably never been employed more brazenly than they are being resorted to at the present time. A striking illustration of this character has recently been seen in the attempt of the corporation forces throughout the land to discredit Direct-Legislation in Oregon. On April 15th, the Boston *Transcript* published a column editorial entitled "The Referendum

Failure in Oregon." It was a tissue of misrepresentation which was admirably characterized by the Portland *Oregonian*, the leading Republican daily of Oregon, as "Strange News from Boston," which "may be said to be new though not true." Nevertheless, after the publication of this mendacious editorial in the *Transcript*, the corporation press East and West took up the cry that Direct-Legislation had proved to be a failure in Oregon. The editors of the various papers, if they knew anything of the facts involved, knew that their statements were absolutely false; but the systematic and simultaneous manner in which these false statements were scattered broadcast indicates a concerted effort on the part of the plutocracy throughout the United States to employ the London tactics in their effort to deceive the American people.

Professor Noa's Bereavement: Our readers who have enjoyed the notable series of papers by Professor FREDERIC M. NOA on South American heroes of freedom and progress and on great historical epochs in Latin America, will hear with sorrow of the great loss recently suffered by him in the death of his talented and venerable mother. Mrs. NOA was a portrait artist of exceptional ability, having executed a number of commissions for portraits for leading members of the British nobility and other notables of the Old World, as well as for a number of American statesmen and other prominent citizens. Since the death, some years since, of Professor NOA's father, who was a distinguished educator, the relations between the mother and son have been very intimate and beautiful. Her death is therefore an irreparable loss to our able contributor. At the funeral, which was conducted by the Rev. CHARLES G. AMES, the distinguished Boston Unitarian divine, Professor NOA read the following little tribute which he had composed and mailed to his mother on a previous birthday when absent from her:

"O dearest heart! I think of thee,
On this thy natal day,
And pray thy years shall ever be
As bright as flow'ry May!

"I think of thee, whose lovely art,
Rich as the sunset's glow,
Brings gladness to the burdened heart,
And lightens human woe.

"Mid crowded street, or country bright,
E'en though I roam afar,
Still dost thou lead me by thy light,
My spirit's shining star!"

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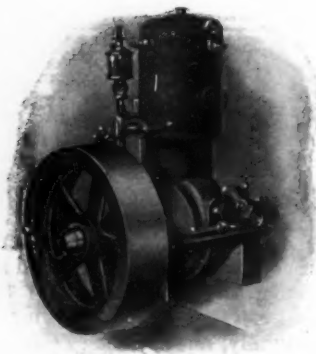
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